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# Daily Report

# Soviet Union

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Friday
6 September 1991

# Daily Report
## Soviet Union

*FBIS-SOV-91-173* CONTENTS *6 September 1991*

**NOTICE TO READERS:** An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

**NOTICE TO READERS:** The United States Government recognizes the independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

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## Arms Control & Disarmament

### Shaposhnikov: Nuclear Arms Under Control

*LD0509124491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1149 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] Moscow, 5 Sep (TASS)—"Nuclear weapons are under reliable control. Even in the days of the coup they were not accessible to anyone. At the present time control over them has been stepped up hundreds of times. Please reassure the world public."

These are the words of Air Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, USSR Minister of Defense, at a news conference for Soviet and foreign correspondents accredited to the extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies. He said: Irrespective of the structure the country might have, the Army will remain unified and undivided. The USSR Minister of Defense acquainted all the heads of the republics who were at the Congress with his conception for the armed forces in the new conditions. An accord has been reached on the delegations from the republics coming to Moscow—after this conception has been studied—to work out a final solution. Regarding the call-up for the Army, the Air Force marshal said the General Staff is now formulating conditions for a mixed principle for staffing the Soviet Army. While the USSR Constitution is valid the protection of the fatherland is the sacred duty of each Soviet person, so call-up to the ranks of the Soviet Army remains compulsory for all, except students. The length of service will be somewhat reduced. After a military special skill has been acquired at a training unit, service on a contract basis will start. Its duration will be three to five years, and it will be on a salary basis.

Great changes are planned in the Army's economic activity, and effective use is to be made of its technical potential in the interests of the country's national economy.

Answering a question about the fate of the Warsaw Pact, the country's defense minister stressed that after this military organization disbanded, there was a sharp change in NATO's profile. "If we could manage to find confidence-building measures with Germany, the United States, and other countries, we can build our relations with NATO on the same basis," Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov said.

### Lobov, Velikhov on Nuclear Arms Security

*91WC0161A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 31 Aug 91 pp 1, 3*

[Article by V. Ostrovskiy: "Should We Be Worried About the USSR's Nuclear Weapons?"]

[Text] The Western mass media have repeatedly brought up the following problem: Who will get the nuclear weapons in the event of the collapse of the Soviet Union, and how many new nuclear states will arise in place of the USSR? Undoubtedly this problem could become the subject of debate and reflection of idle people on a hypothetical level. But we should ask the Western mass media who has informed them that the president of the USSR has stopped being the commander in chief of the country's Armed Forces and where they learned that he has lost control over the country's nuclear potential.

How do General of the Army V. Lobov, chief of general staff of the USSR Armed Forces, and Academician Ye. Velikhov, leader of the USSR's thermonuclear program and USSR people's deputy, see this problem?

**General of the Army Vladimir Lobov, chief of general staff of the USSR Armed Forces:**

Nuclear missile weapons in our country are under the strictest and most rigorous control. It is part and parcel of the very system of administration of these weapons.

The security of nuclear warheads during storage, transportation, and existence on alert status is guaranteed by a multistep system of control which consists not only of technical but also of biophysical principles. The process of oversight is such, said General Lobov, that a chain of controlling elements functions at each state of the upkeep of a nuclear weapon. The control mechanism is such an integral part that it absolutely excludes any possibility of any kind of mistake. The chief of general staff of the USSR Armed Forces categorically rejected any possibility of nuclear blackmail in the event of the theft of the codes.

Both strategic and tactical nuclear weapons are reliably controlled by the appropriate services of the USSR Armed Forces. General V. Lobov said that the Soviet military command authorities understand all the depth of the anxiety of the international community at the problem of the condition of the nuclear potential and the reliability of its control by the state. We have received requests by scholars to examine this problem, said the general. I believe that a discussion of this problem by Soviet scholars may serve as a new impulse first and foremost for halting the nuclear tests of the United States and the USSR, which may lead to a halt in the development of new nuclear weapons systems. Such a step by both powers could contribute to a decline in the numbers of nuclear arms in the world.

**Academician Yevgeniy Velikhov, leader of the USSR's thermonuclear program and USSR people's deputy:**

In order to discuss and examine the aforementioned problem we need a high degree of trust in the attitudes of those people who will be charged with the practical embodiment of such an idea.

The very process of administration of nuclear weapons requires secrecy, and it would be intolerable to go completely public on this issue. However, it is necessary that a study of this problem be conducted, but in such a way that such a study would provide the necessary guarantees and would lead to a concrete result. The people appointed to it should have the trust of the people. The academician presumes that the best variant would be to create a special committee for these questions and not to postpone such a project indefinitely. Yevgeniy Velikhov noted that control over the project should be assigned to the USSR Supreme Soviet and that it should involve a broad circle of deputies, and not just members of the parliament.

In the opinion of the academician, inasmuch as nuclear weapons are connected with the international obligations of our country, all proposals should be carefully studied, as should the procedure itself of administration (and control) of the nuclear weapons, in order to absolutely know to what degree the procedure is guaranteed or not guaranteed against any accidents.

Edward Teller, the American scholar and nuclear scientist, expressed approximately the same point of view in a 23 August 1991 letter to Ye. Velikhov. He writes that he believes the question of the reliability of control over nuclear weapons should be discussed in the Soviet Union and the results of such a discussion should be accessible.

In our turn we can only add that premature alarm concerning the possible partition of nuclear weapons among the republics cannot have any serious foundation.

## 'Options' for Nuclear Weapons Examined

*PM0509103191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 4 Sep 91 p 2*

[Andrey Krayniy article under the "Forecast" rubric: "It Seems That We Will Bring Not Only the Peaceful Atom But Also the Atom Bomb into Every Apartment"]

[Text] Our all-Soviet coquetry can rest assured. We are once again the center of the planet's attention. Earnest politicians, inclining their gray-haired, well-groomed heads toward one another, are pondering how to persuade us not to disintegrate. But can you really persuade us! Freedom! Everything was nobody's—but now it will be ours! Remember: "Those who were nothing..."

And everything would be all right if it were not for the superpower's superweapons, if it were not for what was created by the whole country's exertion, and now the country, as it divides itself up, wants to share out nuclear arms too. Of course, it is tempting: There was a republic—but with an atom bomb, oho, it's a nuclear power! And if a dispute arises with some camp, then... Precisely, what then? And what, in general, is it proposed to share out? First let us agree on the terminology.

So, the Soviet Union possesses strategic nuclear arms. These weapons consist of their own nuclear ammunition and delivery vehicles. Namely: ICBM's with a range of up to 10,000 km and SLBM's; there were intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles (approximately 3,000 km), but the USSR and the United States have reduced them, and now France alone is left with them; and, finally, strategic aircraft (mainly bombers) armed with free-fall bombs, shorter-range nuclear means (up to 600 km), and cruise missiles (over 600 km). Five states in the world possess such weapons—the Soviet Union, the United States, France, Britain, and China. They are all permanent members of the UN Security Council. Israel, Pakistan, and Iraq are close to possessing nuclear weapons, and guesses alone—do they have weapons already or not yet?—make the world turn cold.

But, in addition to strategic nuclear weapons, there are also tactical ones. These include tactical and operational-tactical missiles, nuclear artillery, and also air-launched tactical nuclear weapons.

The enumeration alone of this whole arsenal is impressive, is it not? But on whose territory is it all?

Strategic offensive arms are based in four union republics—Russia, the Ukraine, Belorussia, and Kazakhstan. As regards tactical nuclear weapons, it is easier to list where there are none. There are none in the Transcaucasus, the Baltic region, or (something that not many people know yet) in Moldova. Nor are there any outside the Union's present borders, whereas there used to be. In the GDR.

This is the disposition. Now let us try to examine the options.

What will happen if the center is no more, and the republics possess nuclear weapons?

First, the club of nuclear powers will at least double in size de facto, because de jure such a proposal will hardly get through the UN Security Council. The spread of the "combat atom" is fraught. The threat to world peace is directly proportional to the number of nuclear powers.

Second, everyone in the world seems to have decided already that there are too many nuclear weapons on this planet. It is necessary to hold talks on their radical reduction. Such talks were held for almost nine years between the USSR and the United States on the reduction of strategic offensive arms, and that was between just two states! There are only five of them in the world, and these five have never yet been able to sit around a negotiating table. But what if there are 10 of them? Then, in the opinion of Lieutenant General Fedor Ladygin, a leading specialist in the USSR Armed Forces, agreements on the reduction of nuclear weapons will be made extremely difficult, if not impossible.

The security of the weapons proper also must not be forgotten. Measures that would render impossible their unsanctioned use and accidents. For this it is necessary to have a system to ensure nuclear security, a system to control and manage these weapons. But the present union republics simply cannot afford it.

Incidentally, in order to be certain of the reliability of a ballistic missile, it (I exaggerate) must constantly be checked. Nuclear tests are needed on the sites. Where will the Ukraine locate them? In the Crimea? In the Donbass?

There is also the problem of training service personnel, the problem of improving nuclear weapons, etc.

Second option.

What will happen if the center is no more, but there is a Security Council or a Federation Council?

In this case the weapons remain at the center, as it were. Strategic offensive arms are the same for all, and everything is fine, but there is one question: Who, after all, is in charge of the parade? Who is holding the notorious "black suitcase"? Or are there nine suitcases? Or 11? The NATO option comes to mind. In order to use nuclear weapons there, it is necessary to achieve a consensus of all the NATO member countries, including nonnuclear ones. Thank God, a consensus has not been required throughout the past years, there was no need. But if there had been? I have already had occasion to speak about the approach time of missiles from the Norwegian Sea and the Barents Sea. They take between seven and nine minutes to reach our territory. I venture to assure you that West Europe has no more time than that. Of course, in the event of nuclear war commencing, the NATO countries will not have time to consult each other and the decision will be adopted by those that have weapons at hand. But if, instead of the president as the symbol of statehood and the supreme commander in chief, we elect some council (the first word in the proposed combination has no significance now), who will take on the difficult job of making the decision? Having before our eyes the experience accumulated by us of holding congresses and sessions, there is no need to answer.

What will happen if the Union of Sovereign States is led by the center?

And it will be. Obviously, the republic states delegate some powers to it, and these will certainly include the leadership of strategic offensive arms. Units and subunits of the Strategic Missile Forces, the Air Force, and the Navy will be directly within these states with the status of "deployment troops [voyska prebyvaniya]." As our Western Group of Forces is now in Germany. And provision will be made in the treaty between the center and the republics for all the questions that might arise. Then all will receive their own (theoretical!) piece of the nuclear pie, and they will be able to assert themselves at sessions of the [USSR] Security Council, where the development strategy will be determined not only for strategic offensive arms but also for the common Armed Forces.

There are more questions than answers. In fact, we do not yet have any professionals in this sphere, for no one even thought that such questions might ever arise. But no one assumed that Russia's historical flag would fly over the Kremlin, did they?

It is necessary to think together, but, in my opinion, it is clear what we must do: Nuclear weapons must be in one pair of hands. Well, in actual fact, the only thing we have been doing all together for 74 years is frighten the world. The community has only just breathed a sigh of relief: "At last they have democracy." But we are again starting up a quarrel with underhand pushing, huffing and puffing, and quiet, constrained exclamations: "Who do you think you are!" in the lobby of the civilized world.

Of course, many of us (we do not even suspect how many!) are deeply nostalgic for the superpower. For this thought would console us during the hardest minutes. Nuclear parity accounted for the shortage of the most vital things, and our hearts, despite the meager food, swelled with legitimate pride—but then we make missiles. Of course, it is sad to part with the thought that you live in the greatest and v-very strong country. True, I too am sad. But, after all, a great country is not the one that has more missiles... Missiles mean prowess and titanic labor, but then there is something higher than prowess.

...It is also sad to part. Be that as it may: We have gotten used to one other or, at least, accustomed to one another. Maybe, in constructing a communal apartment, we will not drag in after ourselves our common bombs? Maybe we will sit down on the threshold, on the path, and will think a bit?

## Bovin on Pluses, Minuses of START I

*PM3008153591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Aug 91 Union Edition p 6*

[Aleksandr Bovin article: "Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty: Compromise Cannot Be Beyond Reproach"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] I think that the first Strategic Offensive Arms Reduction Treaty [START I] has at least two undoubted merits that allow us by and large to regard it as outstanding, a fundamental step toward nuclear disarmament.

First, the fact that more than one-third of the USSR and U.S. nuclear missile potentials has been cut back is "per se" of fundamental significance. It is, moreover, important that this is no mechanical reduction in the number of carriers and warheads but the first moves toward increasing strategic stability by gradually changing the strategic offensive arms structure and the proportion of the most destabilizing types of weapons, thus lessening the danger of nuclear war.

By reducing the quantity, the Soviet Union gains in terms of quality. Obsolete intercontinental ballistic missiles [ICBM's] and submarine-launched ballistic missiles will be removed from the arsenal. The reliability and accuracy of the remaining missiles is increasing. ICBM survivability will be enhanced inasmuch as a considerable proportion of these missiles will be mobile. The proportion of strategic aviation will rise.

Second, continuing the line taken by the Treaty on Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, the USSR and the United States have elaborated an unprecedented, carefully conceived, and essentially all-embracing system of verification of the fulfillment of

START-I. Twelve types of on-site monitoring have been authorized, and provision has been made for approximately 60 differing types of of notification covering the production, testing, movement, deployment, and destruction of strategic offensive arms. The significance of the prescribed monitoring procedure goes far beyond the framework of the treaty; it is leading to increased mutual trust and is preparing the ground for further progress in disarmament.

I will directly make the reservation that these merits are not indisputable.

There are people in both countries, particularly among the retired military, who are unhappy that too many strategic offensive arms are to be cut back. These people cannot be persuaded otherwise; we cannot and must not pay attention to them.

More numerous—both in our country and across the ocean—are the critics who think that the prescribed ceilings are too high. Especially since it was promised that existing arsenals would be halved... "The recently signed strategic arms treaty," P. Nitze, the well-known disarmament (and arms) specialist, writes in THE WASHINGTON POST, "is disappointing; much more could have been done to create U.S.-Soviet strategic equilibrium, reducing the danger of nuclear war to a minimum." In principle he is right. But after all, unlike the high jump, the lower the bar the more difficult it is to get over it. Standing in the way is the tremendous inertia of the arms race. Standing in the way are the continuing mistrust and the confrontation mentality that takes far longer to overcome in the military-political sphere than in the sphere of politics proper. Let us be realistic. What has been done would have seemed like a miracle quite recently. Yet neither Moscow nor Washington has any intention of stopping at what has been accomplished.

There are also disagreements over the second point. People in the United States complain that it is hard to verify the situation as regards mobile missiles and that in a number of cases the treaty restricts inspection checks. People in our country habitually flinch: Are we not baring ourselves too much in front of the U.S. inspectors' immodest gaze. If we want disarmament to continue, we must completely abandon our mania for secrecy. And not forget that our beloved "cunning little ruses" have seriously damaged our reputation. When it is a question of shutting off all routes to the nuclear threat, no verification can be excessive or superfluous.

By and large, I repeat, the deep cuts in strategic offensive arms, accompanied by reliable verification, that preserve USSR-U.S. strategic parity and increase the stability of Soviet-U.S. relations allow us to describe the treaty as an important step designed to strengthen our country's security.

Now a word about the treaty's weak spots, its minuses. Naturally, those that are visible to the nonspecialist's unaided eye.

First, the Americans have effectively kept a free hand on SDI because the linkage between strategic offensive arms cuts and the problems of ABM defense is a weak one. At one time this linkage was one of the key demands of the Soviet position. We removed this demand. In my view, we were right to do this. A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush. We got the bird in the hand. Now we have to think further.

The fewer missiles there are the simpler the tasks of ABM defense. The Americans realize that. It seems that they have appreciably slowed research in the sphere of space laser exotica. The emphasis is being switched to land-based defense systems. In particular, it is a question of deploying 100 missile intercepters at the Grand Forks Base (North Dakota) by 1996. The Senate has already appropriated a first installment of $1.55 billion for this. At present the Americans' action does not constitute a breach of the 1972 ABM Treaty and we have no legal grounds for complaints.

In the future the Pentagon is to raise the question of developing [sozdaniye] the so-called Global Protection Against Limited Strikes [GPALS], which also envisages space-based components (the task is as follows: to repulse any attack with a quantity of 20-200 warheads [boyezaryady] from any point on the globe on any target). The deployment of this system (parallel with further strategic offensive arms cuts) may drastically destabilize the situation insofar as it will render problematic the effectiveness of a second, retaliatory strike. Our position will depend on the general evolution of Soviet-U.S. relations. If they develop evenly, without disruption, you cannot rule out the possibility of cooperation in developing GPALS. Otherwise strategic offensive arms limitation may be left hanging in midair or (and) give way to a defensive strategic arms race. Which is undesirable, in the economic rather than in the military context. The consultations in the fall may clarify the situation.

The fact that the treaty—apart from certain, clearly stipulated cases—does not restrict the modernization, improvement, and development [sozdaniye] of new types of carriers and nuclear warheads is also confusing. It is logical to assume that the quantitative ceilings will stimulate and spur a qualitative, technological arms race. In that case it would be worth resuming the talks on, if not a complete ban on, then at least a further material limitation in the yield and number of nuclear explosions. I would remind you that since the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki members of the world nuclear club have carried out more than 1,900 nuclear tests—that is, every three days a nuclear explosive device has been tested on the planet. [Sentence as published] It is time to call a halt...

Among the treaty's shortcomings I would cite the fact that the United States—if it deems it necessary to fully load its heavy bombers—will have more nuclear weapons [yadernyye boyezaryady] than the Soviet Union. I realize that heavy bombers are not destabilizing systems or a first-strike system, and that the above asymmetry does not upset the strategic parity. When producing the final form of the strategic equation such "compensatory" facts as our superiority in heavy ICBM's (the Americans simply do not have these) and mobile ICBM's (the Americans would hardly want to catch up with us) were probably taken into consideration. Incidentally, it is these two targets that come under critical fire in the United States.

That is all true. But I think that it would be advisable in the course of subsequent talks gradually to close the gap between our strategic offensive arms structures and thus get rid of the existing inequalities.

I am sure that a specialist's trained eye will find plenty of other defects in the text of the treaty. A compromise cannot be beyond reproach. Details can always be disputed. But it is in my view indisputable that by and large the treaty performs its task—it renders the world a more stable, calmer, and more peaceful place.

Looking back over the past 20 years, there is every reason to repeat the sacred words: "The ice has broken!" In 1972 the ABM and SALT I Treaties were signed which drastically limited the option for ABM defense and curbed the increase in strategic offensive arms. The year 1974 saw the tightening up of the ABM Treaty, while 1979 saw the signing of the SALT II Treaty and new limitations on strategic arms; and even though the treaty did not become legally binding, it was to all intents and purposes observed by both sides The year 1987 saw the Treaty on Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, which banned and destroyed two kinds of nuclear carriers; and in 1990 the CFE Treaty was signed, whereby 22 states considerably reduced their conventional arms. Finally, 1991 saw the START I Treaty. Let us hope that this series will not be broken.

### Canadian Officers Inspect Leningrad District

*LD0509192891 Moscow TASS in English 1836 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—The following official statement was circulated here on Thursday:

"On September 3, 1991, in keeping with the 1990 Vienna document of negotiations on confidence-building measures and security in Europe, the Canadian Government has requested the Soviet Union to allow a military inspection in the Leningrad military district.

"The Canadian Government's request for inspection has been honoured. On September 5, an inspecting group consisting of four Canadian Army officers arrived in the Soviet Union and began inspecting the military activities in the requested area".

## Worldwide Issues

### Pankin Discusses CSCE Human Dimension Forum

*LD0509163891 Moscow TASS in English 1545 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[By TASS correspondents Rostislav Gertsev, Sergey Postanogov, and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—The CSCE conference on human dimension, which opens in Moscow on September 10, is to become a major event in the life of the world community, Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin said at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists here today. It was his first large-scale meeting with journalists after he was appointed foreign minister.

The holding of the conference in Moscow was called into question in connection with the attempted coup, Pankin continued. It is the support and "intellectual impetus" on the part of the European Countries that made it possible to convene the conference on the date fixed previously. "The conference will make a new step in the process of reaffirming and safeguarding human rights, as well as creating guarantees of their observance," he said.

The Soviet foreign minister believes that now national laws alone are not enough to create such guarantees. This is why the priority of international human rights legislation over national ones will be the centrepiece of the conference. The principle of non- interference in the internal affairs of other countries will also be revised.

According to Pankin, all foreign ministers, who agreed earlier to attend the CSCE forum in Moscow, will come to the Soviet capital. "The conference will be addressed by President Gorbachev. Russian President Yeltsin and Patriarch Aleksiy II will hold receptions for its participants.

Apart from official representatives of foreign ministries and popular human rights experts, the conference will be attended by envoys of public and human rights movements.

Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Yuriy Deryabin and a well-known human rights activist, Chairman of the Human Rights Committee at the Russian Parliament Sergey Kovalev will be co-chairmen of the Soviet delegation at the conference.

### Says 'No Purge' in Ministry

*LD0509180891 Moscow TASS in English 1736 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—Responding to questions of journalists, Pankin said that the work of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, which is a federal authority, would be changed in accordance with the documents, adopted at the Congress of People's Deputies. The ministry will work in close contact with the foreign ministries of republics and states that join the union.

The work of the Foreign Ministry will continue to be based on principles of new thinking, Pankin pointed out. Competence, professionalism and civic stand will be the criteria for personnel changes in the ministry. "There will be no purge in the Soviet Foreign Ministry," he said. It will be a careful and impartial analysis of the work of its departments and embassies during the coup.

Pankin believes that new opportunities are now opening up for making headway in the settlement of a number of acute international problems, including those of the Middle East and Afghanistan.

The foreign minister described the human rights declaration, adopted by the Congress of People's Deputies today, as a solid basis that opens up excellent prospects for the whole of our country. "This is another step on the way to civilised law-governed society, which we intend to create," he stressed.

Speaking about aid to Cuba, Pankin pointed out that this problem would be further analysed. Deideologisation of the Soviet Union's foreign policy will affect Cuba, Chile, Albania and other countries in equal measure, he continued. "Deideologisation of politics changes the character of economic relations," Pankin said.

The Soviet foreign minister pointed out that the union would encourage the intention of sovereign states included in it to join the United Nations Organisation and become subjects of international law. "In the long run, it is the union and the sovereign states delegating to each other some of their powers that will be subjects of international law," Pankin said.

He also said that the problem of independence of the Baltic republics would be discussed on Friday at the first session of the State Council, created by the Congress of People's Deputies. He believes that the granting of independence to the Baltic republics is "a matter of the near future, if not the coming days."

Responding to a question about the forthcoming visit of U.S. Secretary of State James Baker to Moscow, Pankin said that talks on bilateral cooperation would be held during the visit. The sides will also discuss a wide range of international problems. Baker is expected to be received by the Soviet and Russian presidents, as well as by other high-ranking officials. "I am pinning much hope on the first meeting with my American counterpart," the foreign minister said.

## Petrovskiy Cited on Moscow CSCE Forum

*LD0409154891 Moscow TASS in English 1530 GMT 4 Sep 91*

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Mikhail Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow September 4 TASS—Preparations for the third meeting of the CSCE conference on human dimension are in their home stretch, First Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy told TASS today. The forum is due to open in Moscow on September 10.

As regards the agenda of the forum, Petrovskiy pointed out that it will feature an address by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and foreign ministers of all 35 CSCE member-countries. The official forum will be accompanied by parallel events arranged by the public. Taking part in them will be representatives of non-governmental organisations who will maintain close contacts with official delegations.

The significance of the forthcoming conference, Petrovskiy stressed, lies not only in the fact that it will become the closing stage of cooperation among CSCE member-countries in the humanitarian field. The atmosphere in which it will be held is also important: all conditions have been created in the Soviet Union for the decisive turnaround towards an even greater international openness. This was facilitated by the recent victory of democratic forces over the plotters of a coup.

The forum agenda's core, Petrovskiy said, will be made of items devoted to the fulfillment by member-countries of agreements in the field of human rights, which were reached during the first stages of the CSCE conference on human dimension in Paris and Copenhagen.

Work will continue to create a permanent mechanism of international cooperation in the humanitarian sphere. Petrovskiy added that there is a common understanding of the need to hold conferences of this kind on a regular basis.

According to Vladimir Petrovskiy, major changes in the structure of the Soviet state which took place soon after the botched coup will be reflected both in the composition of the Soviet delegation and the guidelines prepared for the delegation by the leadership of the Soviet Foreign Ministry. Invitations to attend the forum have been extended to all republics of the former Soviet Union, including the Baltic ones. Although, Petrovksiy added, the question has been raised of granting these three republics the right to attend the forum as independent states. But the decision on this, Petrovskiy said, must be taken by all 35 countries, participants in the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe. He said they will take the decision at the very beginning of the conference or even before the beginning.

## Petrovskiy Discusses CSCE With U.S. Charge

*LD0509210191 Moscow TASS in English 1240 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—Vladimir Petrovskiy, first deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, on Wednesday received James Collins, charge d'affaires ad interim of the United States to the Soviet Union, at Collins' request.

They discussed matters connected with preparations for a Moscow session of the CSCE Conference on Human Dimension and some specific aspects of bilateral Soviet-U.S. relations.

Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Karpov today received P. Pospichal, the Czechoslovak president's foreign policy adviser, and J. Kubis, director of the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry's department.

In a friendly conversation they discussed some international problems, the development of the disarmament process in Europe and the world as a whole and topical matters concerning Soviet- Czechoslovak relations in the light of processes taking place in the Soviet Union.

### West's Intentions on Aid to USSR Questioned

*PM0509140991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Aug 91 Single Edition p 5*

[Article by Vladimir Kikilo under "Opinions, Commentaries" rubric: "There Will Be No Shower of Gold"]

[Text] The West is prepared to offer the Soviet Union urgent food aid to prevent a famine in the country in the coming winter. This is the position of the "G-7"—the seven leading industrial countries—whose representatives held a meeting in London Thursday. According to news agency reports, the participants in the meeting agreed to seek ways of providing aid in the distribution of food and medicines among the USSR population.

Almost simultaneously in Kennebunkport U.S. President George Bush and British Prime Minister John Major declared their "resolve to aid the reforms in the USSR." Some specific steps in this direction were outlined at the meeting on Bush's estate, where the British premier went to coordinate the West's reaction to the changes in the Soviet Union. They include, among other things, the allocation of already approved credits for the purchase of food, and the granting of additional ones, the sending of special "lifeline" teams to the USSR in order to assist on the ground in the efficient production and distribution of food, and so forth.

At the same time both the participants in the London meeting and the U.S. and British leaders confirmed the previous G-7 line ruling out immediate and large-scale financial aid to the Soviet Union in the form of credits. It was stated that such a step would be premature at the present time, and should be tied to the elaboration of "effective new programs of economic reform and development," and also to the USSR's commitment to reduce its defense expenditure.

So once again they are asking us to wait a little longer. More correctly, they are not asking us, but politely telling us that there is no such thing as a free lunch; after all it is we who are doing the asking. Help with advice is another matter. What do they advise? The liberalization of prices, for example—in other words, simply setting them free. The privatization of state enterprises, the establishment of joint ventures with foreign partners, and so forth. While the two latter points could be debated further, extracting their rational core, a full and immediate freeing of prices would lead us not to the market, but rather to new social cataclysms, unpredictable in their scale. Perhaps this is what the West wants? One would prefer not to believe it. But what then? Or is the panic that gripped those same Americans over the possibility of the accidental use of nuclear weapons during the recent tragic events in the USSR not enough over there?

It is now becoming clear that no one intends, or ever seriously intended to help us. Indeed, can the multibillion-dollar credits which we have already managed to "obtain" be described as aid? After all, sooner or later they will have to be repaid, as will the emergency food aid which they are promising us now.

Should the West be blamed for this? I think not. After all, we are dealing with practical, rational, and—I do not fear to use this word—tightfisted people who are by no means inclined to philanthropy. And it is even possible to understand them: Well, the question is, what kind of idiot would risk investing billions in the USSR now, when there are no guarantees that a country with such a name will still exist in a few months' time?

If you think about it, even if we obediently fulfill the West's directions there are still no guarantees that a shower of gold will rain down on us. I am afraid that it will actually have nothing to rain down on. So it remains for us to rely on our own efforts, reassuring ourselves with the thought that we won't exactly be allowed to die of hunger next winter.

Recently we have been in some ways reminiscent of the Biblical Lazarus. The beggar who, according to St. Luke's Gospel lay covered in scabs at the rich man's gates, and was glad to eat even the crumbs that fell from the latter's table. Of course, all comparisons are lame. But personally I find another Biblical legend more to my liking. Also about a Lazarus. The one who rose again through the efforts of Jesus four days after his death.

## United States & Canada

### Pankin, U.S. Congressmen Discuss Trade Agreement

*LD0509192691 Moscow TASS in English 1903 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin on Thursday met a delegation of the Subcommittee on Trade and Budget of the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress headed by subcommittee's chairman Sam Gibbons.

Pankin informed the congressmen about the pace of radical political and economic reforms in the Soviet Union, focusing on international aspects of building a new union of sovereign republics.

The sides discussed prospects for Soviet-U.S. trade and economic cooperation in light of the Soviet Union's integration into the world economy, as well as the role the United States and other western countries could play in resolving problems of economic restructuring in the Soviet Union.

Discussing prospects for the ratification of the U.S.-Soviet trade agreement signed on June 1, 1990, Pankin stressed its great economic and political significance, saying the document provides the basis for normal trade relations between the United States and all republics forming a single economic space.

The sides stressed the need to further Soviet-U.S. cooperation in various spheres.

The meeting was held in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

## Scowcroft Cited on Support for Yeltsin, Gorbachev

*PM0309104791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Sep 91 Union Edition p 4*

[Report by IZVESTIYA correspondent A. Shalnev: "White House in Thoughtful Mood"]

[Text] New York—The White House has already placed itself at a seemly distance from Gorbachev, but is still not entirely prepared to bid the Soviet president "farewell!" or—to use a U.S. political term—to "embrace" Yeltsin and start doing business with him as they once did with Gorbachev.

The interview that Brent Scowcroft, the U.S. President's national security adviser, gave CNN-TV on Saturday is very indicative here. He uttered the kind of criticism of the USSR president that previously would not have been heard from him and that only the most inveterate conservatives in Bush's entourage like Defense Secretary Cheney or future CIA Chief Gates might have ventured to make.

Nonetheless, when the President's adviser was asked "has Gorbachev's time passed, has he missed the boat," Scowcroft did not rush to join in these assessments: "Let's look at it; Gorbachev has lost a considerable amount of power. A considerable amount of power has switched to Yeltsin. Let us see whether Gorbachev will be able to make up the losses and demonstrate the kind of leadership that rallies people in support of the center. But he still has to demonstrate that kind of leadership."

The White House's desire to continue working with Gorbachev, albeit on a truncated program, was noticeable in what Scowcroft said. At the same time, what he said confirmed the administration's definite doubts about the Russian president.

The doubts are obvious although they are most frequently voiced behind the scenes. The doubts were indisputably spurred on by three actions on the part of the Russian leadership: the suspension of the Communist Party's activity, the closure of party publications, and the promise to sort out the borders of those republics with an extensive Russian population that want to leave the Union.

CNN's White House correspondent, who is well informed on what is being said behind the scenes in the administration, put his question in a deliberately pointed way: "Opinion within the administration is obviously split about Yeltsin; some people are not sure that he is the man for the future of Russia or the Soviet Union. What is your view?"

[Scowcroft] He is a very dynamic, self-confident, and, of course, courageous leader. He acts rapidly and resolutely...

[CNN] But some of his steps were not particularly democratic...

[Scowcroft] Yes... But I said that he acts very rapidly.

[CNN] He was elected democratically. He undoubtedly supports democracy. He is working with the Russian Supreme Soviet. I think that it is hard to tell how he will turn out.

[Scowcroft] I am not saying that everyone has the same opinion of Yeltsin, since he is one of those unusual people with a divine gift who possess tremendous power and influence and it is not yet clear what direction this power and influence will take. But he is of course the man who saved the Soviet Union during these few days. [Scowcroft ends]

I must give one explanation here: Brent Scowcroft is one of the top officials in the Bush administration who was skeptical about Yeltsin when the incumbent Russian president made his first trip to the United States two years ago and who somewhat divulged this skepticism to journalists, admittedly asking to remain anonymous. I by no means rule out the possibility that first impressions are still making themselves felt to this day, correspondingly coloring the perception of Boris Yeltsin today.

But I must reiterate: Some of the steps that the Russian leadership took during the first few hours and days following the abortive putsch made many U.S. politicians remember their opinions of two years ago and prompted them to add "but.." after saying "Yeltsin is a courageous leader, a hero who saved the Soviet Union."

This "but" increases still further the sense of uncertainty of which, I think, one is conscious within the Bush administration—uncertainty as to what our country will be like in the future. Concern at the possibility of the rapid breakup of the Soviet Union and the collapse of the central organs of power is easily noticeable in statements by politicians and statesmen.

The key worry is linked with the fate of nuclear weapons. In his CNN interview, Brent Scowcroft said bluntly:

"Potentially there is the problem that there are nuclear weapons in republics that have announced their independence. Of course," he added, "it is necessary to ensure that the Soviets can keep control of these weapons."

But it is not only a question of arms. Another acute problem is that of nuclear power stations—or more precisely, of who will control them. U.S. experts, THE WALL STREET JOURNAL writes, are concerned that republics that gain independence and "lack financial resources will run power stations on their territory at levels in excess of sensible safety levels"

The country "which gave the world Chernobyl," the newspaper stresses, "has 60 nuclear power stations. They include stations that are deemed to be the most complex in the world to maintain... After Chernobyl Western technical aid flooded into the USSR and Moscow set up a department to ensure safety like the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission. But what will happen if the central authorities are eroded and the republics assert their control?"

However, let me return to the subject of how Yeltsin and Gorbachev are perceived in the United States. A WALL STREET JOURNAL poll in conjunction with NBC-TV showed that ordinary Americans' feelings coincide in some respects with the sentiments within the Bush administration: some distancing from Gorbachev, but not unconditional support for Yeltsin. The Russian president's popularity increased from 33 to 50 percent compared with June when a similar poll was held. But 65 percent of respondents spoke favorably of Gorbachev. What is more, 47 percent as opposed to 27 percent of Americans would like to see Gorbachev rather than Yeltsin in charge of the Soviet Union.

## Reportage on Visit of Canadian Trade Minister

### Meets Gorbachev, Discusses Aid

*LD0509185191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1717 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] Moscow, 5 Sep (TASS)—USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev today met Michael Wilson, Canada's minister of trade, industry, science, and technology.

Mikhail Gorbachev described the main results of the congress, singling out in particular their international significance. The tragedy that the country has just come through was full of contradictions, but the congress was able to form a worthy assessment and draw the correct conclusions. The experience also opens an enormous opportunity to speed up the reform of the Union, create a market, and profoundly democratize all aspects of life. The defeat of the putsch and the results of the congress should remove all doubt on the part of foreign states as to the nature of our country's future development.

The dispute over when and whether to help us is over, Mikhail Gorbachev said. All who bear responsibility for international policy must be clear about what to do now. So far they have acted splendidly. They have been able to open a new period in the life of the states and peoples. And now another great effort must be made to give oxygen to the reform of a great country, the results of which will be of decisive importance for the whole world process. That country now needs initial assistance in overcoming the special difficulties associated with food supply, the functioning of light industry, the switch to the convertible ruble, and the highly unfavorable balance of payments.

The new organs of power formed by the congress allow the republics to act in a coordinated way in their mutual relations with foreign states as well as at home. And everything will be done to realize that possibility.

Gorbachev and Wilson agreed that, in the transitional period, such coordination is extremely necessary, but that later it will be ensured by the market itself, which will become the main "regulator" of external as well as internal economic interaction.

Michael Wilson described his contacts during these days with statesmen of Russia and Moscow and with economists and businessmen. He reached an agreement with them on drawing up a precise "shopping list" to enable requirements to be dovetailed with the possibilities for rendering assistance on a bilateral basis and through the Group of Seven, the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development, and the International Monetary Fund.

During the discussion of privatization problems, special attention was given to small and medium-sized businesses.

Michael Wilson shared his impressions of his visits to Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, and inquired how matters stood regarding recognition of their independence. Mikhail Gorbachev replied that, at tomorrow's first session of the State Council, this issue will be discussed within the context of the decisions of principle made at the congress.

Michael Wilson handed Mikhail Gorbachev a friendly message from Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. Mikhail Gorbachev asked Mr. Wilson to convey to his old friend and good partner his gratitude for his support in an hour of trials and hope for closer cooperation.

### Talks With Silayev

*LD0509200191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1500 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] A meeting was held in Moscow today between Ivan Silayev, chairman of the USSR Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy, and Michael Wilson, [Canadian] minister for industry, science, and technology and minister for international trade. Here is Valeriy Kiosa with details.

[Kiosa] This meeting is indeed very important, because it enables us to assess the position of the Group of Seven regarding the events currently under way in our country. Admittedly, I believe there will be many such meetings in the very near future. The temperature of the water is being tested, so to speak.

Today, Canadian Minister Michael Wilson mapped out the position that had been agreed on during the meetings of Group of Seven representatives last week. This position includes, in fact, six points. I would single out the following: The Group of Seven is in favor of economic reforms in the USSR. The group deems it possible that the USSR's associate membership in the International Monetary Fund can be speeded up. It is calling for immediate consultations on this issue with this financial institution.

The vague nature of relations between the center and the republics is a noticeable stumbling block for private investors thinking of investing their capital in the Soviet Union. This is why, Michael Wilson said, there is a need for a speedy completion to setting up relations between the center and the republics. Another difficult and very big problem is the USSR's foreign debt. According to Wilson, the West is prepared to help the USSR resolve this problem, but it is necessary for the USSR to continue repaying its debts. Finally, the West is ready to give help with food and medicines as a top priority.

Replying to these remarks, Ivan Silayev spoke about the results of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and stressed that all the republics had supported the president. Ivan Silayev spoke decisively in favor of the integration of the Soviet economy into the world economy, and noted that his deputy Grigoriy Yavlinskiy is now studying these questions and is in particular engaged in working out a concept for economic reform.

As for the problems of foreign debt, appropriate proposals have already been submitted to the country's president and, according to Ivan Silayev, they enable debt repayments to be ensured for a certain period of time, which has not been specified.

Finally, groups are now being formed to hold urgent consultations with Western banks on all problems of financial relations between the USSR and developed Western countries. The speech by Yuriy Mikhaylovich Luzhkov, who is responsible in the committee for questions concerning food and medicine, was very alarming and frank. He stated that the USSR is now in urgent need of food supplies. We now need eight to nine months to carry out economic reforms under relatively calm conditions. If we fail to get that help, Lyuzhkov said, the democratic structures now beginning in the country will be in real jeopardy. Figures concerning the amount of food and medicines the country needs are ready to be discussed with Western partners.

So what conclusion can be drawn from this meeting—a very brief one since the Canadian delegation was due to see President Gorbachev? I would say this: the West is prepared to give help, perhaps even greater help, than it was decided in London in July, but it wishes to tie this help to the USSR's fulfillment of its international pledges and the continuation, to be more precise, the beginning of decisive economic reforms, that is, genuine measures—not just declarations.

The latest events, especially the decision of the congress which has just ended, have ushered in such opportunities, I should even say, a unique opportunity to speedily carry out the reforms over which we temporized the past few years. Of course, the reforms would be more effective in a single market. Everyone seems to agree on this. The main thing left is now to move from declarations to action as soon as possible. Time is pressing.

## Silayev on Need for Aid

*LD0509154791 Moscow TASS in English 1532 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[By TASS correspondent Igor Gvritishvili]

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—"Western financial, food and medical aid is very important for stabilising the political situation in the Soviet Union," chairman of the USSR Operational Economic Management Committee Ivan Silayev said today during his meeting with the Canadian Minister for External Trade, Industry, Science and Technology Michael Wilson.

In particular, Silayev stressed that the Soviet Union needed about 8 or 9 months of "relative tranquility" to launch necessary reforms so that the people would feel their effectiveness. To make Western aid effective and properly coordinated, he offered to pool urgently the efforts of Soviet and foreign banking experts and to draw up a programme, which would help carry out radical market reforms in close interaction with the West.

In reply to the Canadian minister's request, Silayev told him about the development of the political situation in the country after the abortive cout d'etat and the proceedings of the extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR and the most important documents it adopted.

Taking part in the talk was Yuriy Luzhkov, who is responsible in the committee for supplying the population with food and medicines. According to him, the "food situation is so difficult that any delay with foreign deliveries may lead to hunger". It, in turn, may put a break on the process of democratic reforms in the USSR. True, Silayev said during the talk that Luzhkov's statement was somewhat exaggerated and disagreed with him about the looming hunger.

## China

### Foreign Ministry Denies KGB Defections to PRC

*LD0509195791 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1900 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman has dismissed rumors appearing in some Japanese newspapers that quite a few members of the KGB security police and the Soviet Communist Party fled to China after the anti-government coup in the Soviet Union failed. He said there were no serious violations of that kind on the Soviet-Chinese border either last or this month. Similar statements denying Japanese press reports have been made by the Chinese Foreign Ministry and the KGB security police of the USSR.

### KGB Denial

*LD0509130191 Moscow TASS in English 1239 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[By a TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—Rumors about massive flight of KGB personnel and Soviet Communist Party functionaries to China are groundless, a spokesman at the KGB Public Relations Centre told TASS.

On Wednesday domestic news media, on the strength of reports in the Japanese newspapers NIHON KEIZAI and SANKEI SHIMBUN, circulated a report that several thousand security men and party functionaries had fled to China following the failure of the rightist putsch and suspension of Communist Party activities and seek political asylum.

However, upon a competent inquiry into this information, the reports were not corroborated.

### Endorsement of Nuclear Control Pact Viewed

*OW0509105091 Moscow Radio Moscow in Mandarin 1400 GMT 4 Sep 91*

[Commentary by station observer Alekseyev; from the "Current Events and Commentaries" program]

[Text] In his talks with British Prime Minister Major in Beijing on 3 September, Li Peng said that China is prepared to join the international treaty for the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. Station observer Alekseyev says: It has been 23 years since the treaty was signed. There are 118 signatories to the treaty, whose implementation is guaranteed by three big countries—the USSR, the United States, and the United Kigdom. China had possessed nuclear weapons for four years when the treaty was signed in 1968. The country, however, refused to join the treaty at that time and in subsequent years. The move was not surprising because China was implementing a radical foreign policy, a product of the Cultural Revolution, at that time. All these have long become history. China's current foreign policy is contrary to past developments. The country has consistently advocated the reduction and complete destruction of nuclear weapons. Hence, China's participation in the treaty on nonproliferation of nuclear weapons is a completely natural development.

Under the current circumstances, China's participation is extremely significant to the treaty's guarantors. The nonproliferation of nuclear weapons has become an issue of keen interest all over the world. Experts have said that some countries, including those in Asia, are capable of producing nuclear weapons. China enjoys high prestige in Asia. It can effectively contain the nuclear arms race. The example set by China can help solve the issue of international inspection of the DPRK's nuclear program. Moreover, China's participation in the treaty will enhance Soviet-Chinese understanding and cooperation. This is certainly very important. It goes without saying that China's action will also help improve the country's relations with the West. I think that there is a pressing need for China to take this action.

### Commentator Cites Li Peng on Bilateral Ties

*OW0409024291 Moscow Radio Moscow in Mandarin 0900 GMT 3 Sep 91*

[Commentary by station commentator Georgiyev; from the "Asian Affairs" program]

[Text] Dear listeners, in an interview with a Hong Kong television station, Chinese Premier Li Peng stated that Soviet-Chinese relations had developed steadily since their normalization in 1989. Our station commentator Georgiyev's commentary follows:

The resumption of good neighborly and cooperative relations between the Soviet Union and China is, first and foremost, a demand of the peoples of the two countries to concentrate efforts to solve complex domestic issues. Meanwhile, the great international significance of the steady development of Soviet-Chinese relations free of ideological interference is also undeniable. Exchanges between the two countries, including the recent decision by the top leaders to demilitarize the border areas, measures to achieve a peaceful settlement of border problems, and continuously expanding economic cooperation and trade, have exerted a favorable influence on the situation in the Asian-Pacific region.

In the Asian-Pacific region, confrontation is diminishing, constructive dialogue is taking place, and peaceful solutions for disputes are being sought. These are the characteristics of the current situation in the region. Progress achieved in the peaceful settlement of the Cambodian question, obvious normalization of Sino-Vietnamese relations [as heard], a favorable trend for dialogue on the Korean Peninsula, and efforts to consolidate good neighborly relations in the subcontinent in south Asia are clear examples. There are many other similar examples, and they will not be cited here. I believe that what is important now is to obtain a clear assessment of the trend, which is rather obvious. The situation in the Asian continent and its surrounding seas and oceans is taking a turn for the better. During this process, it is only natural that relations between the Soviet Union and China have also improved. Both Mosocow and Beijing are willing to actively participate in solving regional issues. Such participation is often fruitful.

As Chinese Premier Li Peng told Hong Kong reporters, China pursues an independent foreign policy and persists in the principles of peaceful coexistence with other countries. He said: What is important in state-to-state relations is not ideology nor social systems, but the principles for peaceful coexistence. The Soviet Union has also adhered to these principles in the international arena. I believe they are the guarantee for the smooth development of Soviet-Chinese relations and conform with the interests of the peoples of our two countries and peace in Asia and the world.

## Near East & South Asia

### Position on Mideast Peace Conference 'Unchanged'

*LD0509155991 Moscow TASS in English 1521 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—"The Soviet Union's position on the convocation of an international Middle East peace conference remains unchanged. We believe the convocation of the conference is very timely and continue work to promote its convocation," Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Belonogov told TASS on Thursday.

The Soviet Union has consistently called for and continues to support the convocation of a Middle East peace conference to ensure a comprehensive settlement of the problem.

Belonogov said a temporary decline in diplomatic activities on this issue is accounted for by a period of summer vacations in many countries. "However, this does not mean that work has come to a standstill".

Belonogov expressed confidence that Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker will thoroughly discuss this issue during their forthcoming meeting.

He said a U.S. [as received] General Assembly session at foreign ministers level is also expected to focus on this issue.

"The Palestinian problem lies at the core of the Arab-Israeli conflict and an international conference will aim to solve it," Belonogov said. At the same time, he stressed that other issues are of no less importance. Not all obstacles have been removed to the convocation of a conference and one of them is the Palestinian representation. "This is a very complex and delicate question, but it can be solved on a basis acceptable for all participants in the conference," the deputy minister said.

He said a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation is one of possible solutions. Belonogov said the Palestinian leadership in this case may seek support of the Palestinian National Council, which can be convened in Algeria in mid-September, 1991.

Belonogov believed a joint delegation would be the best solution to the issue of the Palestinian representation.

He noted, however, that other forms of representation, including a separate Palestinian delegation or their participation in a single Arab delegation, are also acceptable for the Soviet Union.

Speaking on U.S.-Soviet joint efforts to convene a conference, Belonogov said both countries work together or parallelly. The Soviet Union and the United States are expected to co-chair the conference.

### Afghan Rebels Plant Mine; Vehicle Struck

*LD0509091591 Moscow TASS in English 0843 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] Dushanbe September 5 TASS—"We can now definitely say the mine struck by an armoured vehicle on the Soviet-Afghan border last Saturday had been planted by Afghan rebels," Lieutenant Colonel Igor Kharkovchuk, deputy chief of an operative group of the Central Asian Border District, told TASS.

This happened on Friday night during an illegal border crossing near the Karaukltepp Peninsula, where local villagers harvest animal fodder, he said.

Soviet border guards found fragments of an Italian-made mine and several unexploded grenades. Luckily, there were no injuries among soldiers and civilians.

Earlier this year, border guards thwarted an attempt by a group of Afghan rebels, who infiltrated the border, to kidnap local cattle and herdsmen. Rebels opened fire at a border patrol. One rebel was killed in a shoot-out that followed.

In the middle of August, rebels kidnapped a herdsman who tended cattle near a border installation. The man was extradited after Soviet authorities protested.

## East Europe

### More Violence in Croatia; TV Crew Disappears

*LD0509191591 Moscow TASS in English 1820 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kondrashov]

[Text] Belgrade September 5 TASS—Firing has resumed in Croatia after a short pause. At midday on Thursday, the city of Pakrac occupied by the Croatian National Guard was shelled with mortar bombs by Serbian guerrillas.

Fighting has resumed near the city of Vukovar in Danube Croatia, which was surrounded by Serbian rebels from neighbouring villages.

Soviet TV journalist in Belgrade Viktor Nogin and camera man Gennadiy Kurennoy disappeared last Sunday after they went to film hot spots in Croatia.

Soviet diplomats and journalists in Belgrade have appealed to republican and local authorities to help find the journalists.

The Yugoslav Army has also been engaged in the search, but so far with no result.

The Soviet consul-general in Zagreb on Thursday called on the Croatian Interior Ministry to inform about the missing journalists. The Ministry has launched an official investigation.

The journalists are possibly near the city of Osijek, a scene of recent clashes, which disrupted traffic and telephone communications.

### Radio Requests Information

*LD0609004691 Moscow Radio Moscow in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] The fierce battles in Croatia between units of the Croatian National Guard and Serbian guerrillas, supported by the Yugoslav Peoples' Army, are continuing. Fire is being opened from all kinds of weapons around Vukovar, Osijek, and other developed areas. In Zagreb, trenches are being dug and barricades are being built. There is also a threat of armed conflicts flaring up in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Representatives of EC diplomatic sources are openly warning that a continuation of military operations will obstruct the international peace conference on Yugoslavia scheduled to take place in The Hague on Saturday.

In Croatia, Soviet television reporters have disappeared without a trace. For the fourth day there has been no news about the correspondent and cameraman in Belgrade from Soviet television, (Viktor Nogino) and (Gennadiy Kulinoy), who set off on Sunday to shoot a film in Croatia's war zones.

Today the USSR consul general to Zagreb demanded information on their whereabouts from the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs has launched an official inquiry into the case. The two journalists are assumed to be in the Osijek area. We are calling on our listeners on behalf of Moscow Radio: If you know anything about the whereabouts of our colleagues, please let us know. Our address is: Moscow, Yugoslav Section Radio. You can also telephone us at 233-66666. We will be grateful for any information.

## West Europe

### Germany's Kohl Speaks With Gorbachev, Yeltsin

*LD0509153191 Moscow TASS in English 1457 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Sosnovskiy]

[Text] Bonn September 5 TASS—German Chancellor Helmut Kohl had telephone conversations with Soviet President Gorbachev and Russian President Yeltsin today. The head of the German Government was informed about the results of the extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR, which ended in Moscow. This information was supplied to journalists in Bonn by Government Spokesman Dieter Vogel. During the conversation Kohl repeated the invitation to Yeltsin to visit Germany. The date of the visit is being coordinated.

### 'Dramatic Developments' Viewed

*LD0509181291 Moscow TASS in English 1728 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—In a telephone conversation soon after the completion of the Congress of People's Deputies today, Mikhail Gorbachev and Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl exchanged views about the situation connected with recent dramatic developments in our country.

Gorbachev described in detail decisions adopted by the Congress and assessed the immense and intense work done. Republic leaders and people's deputies displayed a lofty sense of responsibility at the crucial period in the destinies of their peoples and the entire Union.

Decisions by the Congress formed a good foundation for concerted, coordinated actions for the transitional period to stabilise economic and political life and speed up radical democratic reforms.

Conditions were created for the more rapid and resolute implementation of agreements within the G-7 framework to facilitate the republics and the Union as a whole to start recovering the national economy in fundamentally new conditions.

The conversation was held in a friendly manner characteristic of the two leaders.

### German Firm To Construct Military Township

*PM0609131991 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 Sep 91 Second Edition p 1*

[TASS report under general heading: "News in Brief"]

[Text] Vladikavkaz—The "Philipp Holzman" firm from the FRG has set about erecting a military township. It is notable that prior to this it had won a competition for the best plan for this construction site.

In a year's time a large residential center will be ready for occupation and will house the families of officers and ensigns who were serving in the Western Group of Forces on the territory of the former GDR. In all it is planned to construct 1,152 apartments, two kindergartens with swimming pools, a school, a cultural center, and a commercial center.

The necessary equipment and machinery and materials have been promptly delivered to the construction site and an industrial base has been set up. The temporary housing for the foreign workers recruited by the firm mainly in Turkey is growing up literally before our eyes.

### Reports of Early Honecker Repatriation Dismissed

*LD0409183791 Moscow TASS in English 1406 GMT 4 Sep 91*

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Ryabikin]

[Text] Moscow September 4 TASS—The campaign in the German mass media and statements by the country's leaders about an early solution to the problem of returning former East German leader Erich Honecker to Germany as published in the BILD newspaper, has been dismissed as a sham by Russian parliament Committee on International Affairs Chairman Vladimir Lukin today.

BILD alleged that Lukin said the Russian parliament might soon agree to extradite Honecker.

"I have said nothing of the sort, I do not have any information in this respect and the Russian parliament has not discussed the issue," Lukin said.

Honecker, was staying in a Soviet military hospital near Potsdam, before being spirited to the Soviet Union for medical treatment.

Honecker, who turned 79 in August, is suffering from kidney and heart problems, but latest reports say he is feeling better after treatment.

### Honkecker's Fate Monitored

*LD0409184391 Moscow TASS in English 1407 GMT 4 Sep 91*

[By TASS correspondents Mikhail Ivanov and Sergey Ryabikin]

[Text] Moscow September 4 TASS— The question about Erich Honecker's fate "is being monitored by the Soviet Foreign Ministry. It should be considered in the context of Soviet-German relations and the two countries' commitment to European agreements, including in the humanitarian sphere," First Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy told TASS.

Petrovsky met German Ambassador to the Soviet Union Klaus Blech on Tuesday to discuss the German demand for Honecker's extradition.

Honecker has been charged with ordering troops to use weapons to prevent the violation of East Germany's borders.

### French Finance Minister To Meet With Gorbachev

*AU0609105191 Paris AFP in English 1023 GMT 6 Sep 91*

[Text] Moscow, Sept 6 (AFP)—French Economy Minister Pierre Beregovoy is to hold talks here Friday with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev on what the new structure of the Union will mean for the economy. Beregovoy stressed when he arrived here late Thursday "the importance of the integration of the Soviet economy into the world economy."

His visit is part of follow-up trips on Soviet aid by ministers from the Group of Seven (G7) leading industrialised nations agreed at their London summit in July.

### Foreign Minister Meets Wallenberg Committee Head

*LD0609051191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1813 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] Moscow, 5 Sep (TASS)—USSR Foreign Minister Boris Pankin today received (Guy von Dardel), head of the international committee investigating the circumstances of the death of Swedish diplomat Raoul Wallenberg, who died in Lubyanka Prison in 1947.

The Soviet minister, who maintained close contacts with the Raoul Wallenberg committee when he was USSR ambassador to Sweden, stressed in a frank conversation full of mutual understanding that our side is sincerely interested in the final elucidation of the question on the fate of the Swedish diplomat and ready to render all necessary assisstance in the work being carried out in this regard. We firmly intend to act in the spirit of glasnost and openness, Boris Pankin stressed.

An accord confirms that the list of measures and actions that are to be carried out jointly will be coordinated in the near future.

### Deputy KGB Chief Comments

*LD0609025891 Moscow TASS in English 1709 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[By TASS correspondents Sergey Nikishov and Igor Peskov]

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—Deputy KGB chief Nikolay Stolyarov told a news conference at the committee's headquarters on Thursday about five previously unknown documents concerning Swedish diplomat Raul Wallenberg.

On Wednesday, KGB chief Vadim Bakatin handed these documents to Swedish Ambassador to the Soviet Union Carl Otto Oerjan Berner.

The first document is a report by head of the 151st Infantry Division Political Department to the head of the Political Department of the Seventh Guards Army "on the detention of Mr. Wallenberg and his driver on January 14, 1945."

The document says Wallenberg protected Jews' rights in Budapest during the second world war.

The second document is an extract from a prisoners' registration book. It says that Wallenberg was put into prison on February 6, 1945.

The third document is a letter from Hans Leut, a reconnaissance company private first class, to the chief of the prison in Vladimir, in which he mentions Wallenberg.

The letter was written in 1949, but this does not mean that Wallenberg was alive at that time, Stolyarov said.

The fourth document is an extract from the testimony of Thompson, former consular officer in Budapest, about Wallenberg's activities to protect Jews during the war.

The last document is a letter from Lunev, KGB chief, to senior Foreign Ministry official Vanchevskiy. The letter, written on June 12, 1957, says documents on Wallenberg were destroyed on order from the leadership of the Soviet Ministry of State Security, which existed in the country between 1946-1954.

Commenting on the documents, Stolyarov said "we do not have grounds to say Wallenberg was alive after 1947." He said experts investigating this case believe Wallenberg died in 1947. Stolyarov referred to a report by the prison administration about Wallenberg's death. The report is being examined for authenticity.

Stolyarov said a final decision will be made by a Soviet-Swedish joint commission. The commission is expected to examine all existing documents and meet people who dealt with Wallenberg.

## Latin American & Caribbean

### Anti-Castro Leader Visits Moscow

*OW0509170891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1446 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] For the first time a leader of the Cuban anti-Castro opposition has visited the Soviet Union. Jorge Mas Canosa, who heads the Cuban-American Fund and is one of the leaders of "Radio Marti", was in Moscow with Larry Smith, president of the US Congress' Appropriations Committee.

DP [Diplomatic Panorama] has learnt that their aim was to meet with Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin in order to ask them to cut off aid to the Castro regime in Cuba. Some sources say that George Bush had asked, via the American Embassy, that they meet the Russian president. Mr. Canosa intends to hand Boris Yeltsin a letter from the chairman of the Congress Foreign Affairs Committee, Dante Fascell, also calling for aid to Fidel Castro to be stopped.

Jorge Mas Canosa will hold a press conference tomorrow at 4 pm at the Czecho-Slovak Embassy in Moscow.

### Article Examines Havana Response to Coup

*91UF1123A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Sep 91 p 5*

[Article by V. Kulikov: "It Is Quiet in Havana. They Are Thinking"; subtitled "Cuba Did Not Come Out Openly in Support of the Putschists But Did Not Welcome Their Defeat Either"]

[Text] It is not for the Cuban Government to judge the processes occurring in the Soviet Union—such was the key proposition of a Havana statement of 20 August couched in neutral tones in connection with the attempted coup d'etat in our country. This has so far been the first and sole official Cuban response to recent events in the USSR.

Nor have there been many unofficial ones either. Five days after the failure of the putsch in Moscow an anonymous representative of the Cuban Foreign Ministry told a correspondent of the Spanish EFE Press Agency that his country, as before, treated the processes gaining momentum in the Soviet Union "with full respect." The same day the national Radio Rebelde broadcast a commentary which counseled that the changes in the USSR following the arrest of the conspirators could "be reflected in the state of the Cuban economy." Finally, an indirect response is of note—a statement by one further anonymous employee of the republic's Foreign Ministry to the effect that Fidel Castro did not rule out the possibility of negotiations with the United States on a normalization of relations.

The first thought which arises is that Havana is no longer recognizable. That same Havana which even recently was impetuously dividing the world into black and white knew how to love and hate out loud, not afraid of letting its feelings show—as was the case, for example, during the Persian Gulf crisis—or of openly shocking world public opinion either. Today's official Havana is guarded and mute. What is concealed behind this silence?

The shock mankind experienced in the three days of August, and which has led many people to reassess their values, did not possibly escape Fidel Castro and his associates—if only partially, to the extent this is possible among steadfast revolutionaries, as they consider themselves. But even if there were no such shock, the Cuban commandantes have received a very instructive lesson. After all, in the junta were the most influential pro-Havana lobbyists of the recent Soviet leadership. Fidel Castro knows many of them personally. Baklanov paid an official visit to Cuba last year. Kryuchkov, as the foreign media reported, paid an unofficial visit this summer. Among other visitors to and old acquaintances of Havana were Katushev, former USSR ambassador in Cuba and now former minister of foreign economic relations, and General Moiseyev, removed from office for active assistance to the putschists. And the most long-standing ties to Cuba were possibly those of Yazov—since the times of the Caribbean crisis, when according to the foreign press, he was on the island as part of the Soviet military mission.

On the other hand, the Cubans also remember Boris Yeltsin, who was in their country at the dawn of perestroyka. This June, following his victory in the presidential election in Russia, the republic press wrote that Cuba had nothing to fear from such an outcome of the ballot since "Yeltsin has shown himself an ardent admirer of Fidel Castro and the Cuban revolution." Many Western critics of the Havana regime viewed this at that time, it is true, as cheap flattery. Undoubtedly, the decisive public support for Boris Yeltsin and the policy for which he opted at the time of the Moscow putsch is one further difficult test for the morale of the Cuban commandante.

The logic of the development of events in the world in the past six years has undoubtedly forced Fidel Castro and his associates repeatedly to think seriously about the possible prospect of proving the advantages of the Cuban model of socialism under the conditions of a pure experiment—without outside assistance. The success of such an enterprise—in both the political and economic spheres—would seem highly dubious even to them, one would have to believe.

The island was assigned the role of "unsinkable aircraft carrier"—a strategic military outpost in opposition to the main capitalist power. In exchange Cuba acquired the right, particularly, not to torment itself with the prosaics of concern for its daily bread, receiving from the Soviet Union and the former socialist states generous "disinterested fraternal assistance." Its dimensions on the part of our country alone amounted, Western experts estimate, to one-fourth of the republic's aggregate social product. Right up until recently, according to the same information, annual Soviet subsidies to Cuba were put at $5-6 billion. More than 100 various projects were being implemented with the USSR's assistance simultaneously, and several thousand of our specialists would be working there. A special question was the presence in the country of a Soviet military contingent and military bases.

But no sooner had the power of ideological support and the flow of economic assistance on the part of the Soviet Union in the years of perestroyka all but run out than Cuba began to shake. The forced withdrawal of its forces from three African countries following 15 years of fruitless wars, the imposition on the island of a draconian regime of a state of emergency in the economy, the new spiraling of confrontational ideological rhetoric from Havana at the start of the present year—these are only some manifestations of this total and rapidly growing crisis.

The forecasts for the future appear even more dire. Politically Cuba is drawing increasingly close to the most odious regimes of the Iraqi and Libyan type. As far as the economy is concerned, the country will apparently find no way to survive other than an alliance with the Soviet Union and has at the same time been forced to pull the belt of war communism tighter.

I do not know precisely what motives prompted Fidel Castro not to associate himself with the joyous dithyrambs addressed to the State Committee for the State of Emergency by which Saddam Husayn and Muammar Qadhdhafi distinguished themselves in the first hours of the putsch. Recognition of the new political realities perhaps? Or did Fidel Castro simply not have time to congratulate the putschists?

* * *

When this material was being prepared for the press, one further piece of news was received from Havana. The newspaper of Cuba's communists carried a lengthy leading article devoted to events in the USSR. Its main idea was the Cubans' pain for the growing wave of anticommunism in our country and the islanders' resolve to fight for socialism to the last.

## Commentary Views Economic Commitments to Cuba

*LD0509182491 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2300 GMT 4 Sep 91*

[Commentary by station correspondent Sergey Koshkin on Soviet-Cuban economic relations]

[Text] Cardinal political and economic changes in the countries of Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union were repeatedly tempting for international observers to draw quite definite conclusions about the future of Cuba.

Indeed, the country that declared itself the last bastion of communism and introduced at the same time rationing cards for bread makes one think twice about the consistency of its policy.

But the forecasts of the inevitable collapse also (?served) characteristics for the eternal opponents of the Cuban regime. Among them are the numerous Cuban emigrants and the United States. They, it is said, are two interested sides and are inclined to wishful thinking.

It is impossible to deny that a difficult economic situation has shaped up in Cuba. And the Soviet Union sees its share of fault in this. Many mistakes of the elder brother were repeated by the younger brother, especially (?as) concerns the regional centralized planning and the management of the economy.

The process of reforms and a crisis in the economy have prompted definite complications in the Soviet Union. It is known that Cuba depends in many respects on exports from this country. Today, when the Soviet Union is going through serious difficulties, our economic assistance to Cuba has reduced considerably.

So what about our commitments before Cuba, our so-called internationalist duty and the economic aid? No longer cooperation seems absolutely impossible, but morally this step seems unacceptable for the Soviet Union. This would contradict our foreign political (?course). The economic relations between the Soviet Union and Cuba must become the same as they are in any other country. They must be based on the international norms of the mutually advantageous trade, not on ideological dogmas and assurances of the eternal friendship.

Cuba is a sovereign state and every nation has the right to choose its own way of living and state system and thus define its relations with other countries. (?Every partner) of these relations should be based on the principles of non-interference and respect for one another.

## Congress of People's Deputies

### Television Carries 5 Sep Congress Proceedings

*LD0509072591*

Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian at 0704 GMT on 5 September begins a live relay of the extraordinary session of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow.

Gorbachev, chairing the session, begins by asking everyone to register. The computerized voting system show an obviously incorrect number of deputies present. Gorbachev laughs and says that the machine is tired. A corrected figure is then shown: 1792 deputies are present. Shcherbak from the Ukrainian delegation is then asked to join the Presidium.

At 0708 GMT, Deputy Saunin takes the floor to touch upon procedural matters and clarify certain procedures that raised questions earlier. He also notes that there was a mistake yesterday during voting on procedural matters since in such cases a simple majority of those present is required. Therefore, he continues, yesterday the Congress adopted a decision to start debate.

At 0712 GMT, Gorbachev calls upon deputies to show understanding and willingness to cooperate since the decisions to be made are of global importance. Therefore, he continues, let us not waste time but get down to discussing documents right away.

Deputy Tatarchuk from the drafting commission then takes the floor. He says that republican delegations worked hard yesterday and submitted their remarks to the commission as well as to individual deputies. Their amendments have been taken into account, he adds. Tatarchuk then briefly clarifies certain clauses of the decision.

At 0717 GMT, Gorbachev proposes to start clause by clause discussion. A vote is taken on that proposal: 1272 for, 361 against, 66 abstentions. The proposal is adopted.

Gorbachev invites the deputies to comment on the preamble. A deputy from the floor proposes to adopt the document as a whole. Gorbachev interrupts him and puts the preamble to a vote since there are no other amendments. The result is 1651 for, 22 against. The preamble is adopted.

At 0723 GMT, point one is discussed. Deputy Dobrovolskiy from Belorussia proposes an amendment. Gorbachev and Tatarchuk provide clarifications. Deputy Gabrusev, on behalf of the Belorussian delegation, says that if their version is not adopted the delegation will not vote. Another deputy corrects the previous deputy and says the delegation's position is different. Gorbachev puts the commission's version to a vote: 1582 for, 55 against. The point is adopted.

Deputy Balayan, speaking from the floor, comments on point two invoking the UN Human Rights Charter. Deputy Yusupov proposes another amendment to the wording. An unidentified deputy comments on the wording of territorial inviolability of republican borders. Gorbachev says this is clarified in point seven. A vote is taken on point two: 1608 for, 51 against. The point is adopted.

At 0733 GMT, point three is discussed. A deputy from the Ukraine amends the wording of the armed forces issue. Tatarchuk says this is a very complex matter, stressing the difference between allied and single armed forces. Gorbachev puts the point to a vote: 1576 for, 55 against—it is adopted.

At 0736 GMT, Gorbachev puts point four to an immediate vote: 1573 for, 17 against.

Point five is then voted on without discussion: 1654 for, 14 against.

A vote is held on point six: 1566 for, 21 against. Deputy Gayer from the floor asks on behalf of all minority peoples to add wording about approving the UN Human Rights Charter. Gorbachev says this will be examined at a later time.

At 0740 GMT, Gorbachev reads a note from deputies suggesting that amendments should be presented only in written form and to stop proposing amendments from the floor. A vote is held on that proposal: 960 for, 508 against—it is adopted.

Point seven is then put to a vote: 1666 for, 29 against—it is adopted.

At 0744 GMT, Gorbachev puts to a vote the proposal on adopting the resolution as a whole. The vote is 1699 for, 24 against—the proposal is adopted. Tatarchuk thanks the deputies.

At 0746 GMT Kalmykov takes the floor to present the draft law on power structures in the USSR for the transitional period. Many amendments have been received and taken account of, he notes. In the draft, Article One is the most important: it says that the Soviet of Nationalities will be replaced with a Soviet of Republics. A new structure for a Soviet of Republics is being put forward to include 20 deputies from each republic. The role of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic is detailed in the draft. Each republic has one vote. Russia has 20 votes to take account of republics and autonomies within it. The Soviet of the Union was keenly discussed, he points out. Plenary powers of the Supreme Soviet should be clarified. The Soviet of Republics will be the parliament's upper chamber. There is a provision allowing republican supreme bodies to suspend union laws in the republic if need be.

Kalmykov continues with Article three in which the idea of a State Council is set out. It will be a body of rapid response for the transitional period. As such there is no need for autonomies to have their representatives on it.

At 0758 GMT describing various provisions of the law on power structures in the USSR in the transitional period, Yuriy Kalmykov, speaking for committees and commissions, says that the draft for Article four replaces the post of vice president: "Article Four: This article abolishes the post of vice president, and indicates that if the president, for whatever reason is unable to implement his powers, these powers can be transferred to the State Council, to a chairman who temporarily implements the powers of the president of the USSR. A definite procedure is envisaged to establish that these powers cannot be implemented, taking into account what has happened in the past."

At 0801 GMT, Kalmykov notes that article eight says that the USSR Constitution can be changed only after approval by republics.

At 0803 GMT Gorbachev proposes to start an article-by-article vote: 1,384 for, 215 against. Adopted.

Article One, paragraph one, on the chambers of USSR Supreme Soviet: 1,651 for, 34 against. Adopted.

Article One, paragraph two: 1,377 for, 235 against. Not adopted. Gorbachev proposes to put the same paragraph with added version—not detailed—to a vote: 1,409 for, 184 against. Not adopted.

At 0814 GMT, after two failed attempts to get a paragraph on a future Soviet of the Republics voted through, Gorbachev threatens: "If we do not accept this point-...[noise in hall] No. No. No. there is no point voting any further. We will simply adjourn [noise in hall] No. No. No. We will adjourn. If we come to some agreement, good, but if not, then the congress will end its work at that point. That's what I think, because the congress is not capable of adopting a decision, and everything will remain in its place."

At 0819 GMT, after a reregistration of deputies and a minor amendment to the wording concerning representation of the RSFSR and of autonomous areas elsewhere, the deputies passed the paragraph under question by a vote: 1,606 for, 116 against, 83 abstentions.

At 0821 GMT paragraph three, on the way the Soviet of the Union is formed is put to the vote: 1,633 for, 68 against. Adopted.

Article Two is put to a vote: 1,638 for, 67 against. Adopted.

Article Three to a vote: 1,635 for, 31 against. Adopted

Article Four to a vote: 1,538 for, 78 against. Adopted.

At 0827 GMT Article Five is put to a vote: 1,649 for, 28 against. Adopted.

Article Six is put to a vote as a whole: 1,481 for, 167 against. Not adopted.

At 0830 GMT Gorbachev proposes to start voting by paragraphs. Paragraph one covering status of deputies put to a vote: 1,605 for, 140 against. Adopted.

Paragraph two, deeming it inexpedient to hold routine congresses during the transitional period. Voting: 1,386 for, 251 against. Not adopted. Gorbachev says that the paragraph should be droppped.

Article Seven to a vote as a whole: 1,673 for, 21 against. Adopted.

Article Eight as a whole: 1,637 for, 55 against. Adopted.

Article Nine to a vote: 1,675 for, 18 against. Adopted

At 0840 GMT the congress passes the draft law on bodies of state power and USSR government during the period of transition by a vote of 1,682 for, 43 against, and 63 abstentions.

After applause, Gorbachev says:

"And so, we have voted through all articles of the law, and the law as a whole, by a two-thirds majority of the total number of deputies. In this way, this law has constitutional status." abstained, Adopted. Gorbachev says now the law has constitutional status.

At 0841 GMT Kalmykov says some deputies complained about their amendments have not been taken into account, but they are wrong since democratic procedure has been observed throughout.

At 0842 GMT Gorbachev proposes to take a break till 1200 [0900 GMT] and then to finalize the congress. At this point the relay ends.

The relay resumes at 0915 GMT. Deputies are seen taking their seats.

At 0919 GMT Gorbachev asks deputies to register. 1,699 present.

At 0920 GMT Kudryavtsev, on behalf of a group charged with drafting a declaration of human rights and freedoms, takes the floor. He says that many proposals and remarks are accounted for in the text of the declaration. He lists the amendments. Our declaration is in keeping with international human rights documents, he states.

At 0924 GMT deputy Zolotukhin proposes an amendment, followed by others. Kirilov asks about suspension of membership of political parties for servicemen and policemen. Kudryavtsev responds by reading article nine: Citizens have a right to belong to parties and political movements. It is not a matter for this declaration and has to be dealt with by other laws. A deputy asks how certain provisions of the declaration are to be implemented. Kudryavtsev says the declaration ought to be a part of the Constitution, and appropriate laws must be passed to facilitate its implementation.

Other international human rights documents must be complied with, Kudryavtsev says. Other deputies continue making suggestions. Telephone tapping and searches, are permitted in certain circumstances, as envisaged by the law. Surkov says the document has to be elaborated further. Kudryavtsev replies to specific points raised, stating that a citizen under arrest has a right to have this decision investigated by a court of law.

At 0940 GMT Gorbachev asks the congress to vote by name on "The bill on the adoption of the Declaration [on Human Rights] in principle, taking into account the additions and amendments."

The bill is passed, with the electronic board reading 1,724 votes in favor, four against, and 13 abstentions.

At 0944 GMT Gorbachev says the issue of procurator general must now be dealt with in view of Trubin's resignation. Vote on whether the new Supreme Soviet should deal with this issue: 1,065 for, 403 against, 156 abstentions.

At 0949 GMT Sobchak says this is a constitutional issue and it would be a good thing to hear how our Procuracy has been working. The issue is back on the agenda, Gorbachev says. He proposes to spend an hour on the issue. Kirilov calls for a vote on whether to include this issue on the agenda or not. Gorbachev agrees: Vote on whether to include this issue on the agenda: 909 for, 687 against, 93 abstentions. Not adopted.

At 0952 GMT a Secretariat official comes to rostrum and reads announcements.

At 0953 GMT Saunin makes a final statement for the Secretariat. he proposes including a report on its work in the minutes. Congress has taken place at a difficult time, but has been reasonably well organized and has "accomplished its historic task," he says. Titanic work will be required of the new bodies to implement the decisions. The Secretariat wishes them luck. Saunin thanks its members for their hard and impartial work, thanks journalists for their coverage, thanks staff of the building for making sure conditions were good.

At 0957 GMT Saunin announces session of the Supreme Soviet Presidium will meet in one hour.

At 0958 GMT Sobchak proposes a final decision to implement Lenin's last wish about his place of burial. Gorbachev proposes that without rejecting the proposal, it should be left to the Supreme Soviet.

At 1000 GMT Gorbachev begins his closing remarks at the congress by saying: "So, we are concluding the work of the extraordinary fifth Congress of USSR People's Deputies, and I would like just to say briefly in conclusion the congress rose to the occasion at this responsible moment, which can without any exaggeration in this case be called a historic moment in the history of our state."

It has adopted decisions which are the best for the time and enable us to get on with practical tasks facing the country, he says. The foundation for the future of the Union of sovereign states has been laid. Referring to the coup organizers, Gorbachev says everyone is agreed that they must be made liable under the law, but without a witch hunt. Gorbachev goes on to say the will of the Congress and people is to cooperate with all countries. There is a great deal of work ahead, Gorbachev says, but he is sure that people will do what is needed.

At 1004 GMT Gorbachev declares the congress closed, after which the relay ends.

### Saunin Speaks for Secretariat

*LD0509110491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0953 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Address by Deputy Saunin at the extraordinary session of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies in the Kremlin in Moscow, with introduction by USSR President Gorbachev—live]

[Excerpts] [Gorbachev] Final words from the head of the secretariat. Carry on, please, Comrade Saunin.

[Saunin] [passage omitted] Dear colleagues! Our extraordinary congress was organized and held in a matter of days, in an exceptionally complicated political situation. Nevertheless, one can state that despite all difficulties, it has passed in a reasonably organized fashion and has accomplished its historic task. In our view, a great deal has been done. The first steps to accommodate each other and toward a renewed Union have been made by the majority of the republics. Accord has been reached on issues of the state's governance of the country in the transitional period, and as we know, the relevant legislative acts have been adopted.

However, so far this is just decisions—our program for the way forward and for escape from the economic and political crisis. Implementation will demand harmonized and titanic work by the new bodies of state power and administration of the reformed USSR Supreme Soviet, and will demand a consolidating role of USSR people's deputies in their constituencies and unity of all democratic forces. The congress secretariat wishes you success in this work. [passage omitted]

### Gorbachev Closes Congress

*LD0509105291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1000 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Closing address by USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev at the extraordinary session of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies in the Kremlin in Moscow—live]

[Text] So, we are concluding the work of the extraordinary Fifth Congress of USSR People's Deputies, and I would like just to say briefly in conclusion—the Congress rose to the occasion at this responsible moment which can without any exaggeration in this case be called a historic moment in the history of our state.

Despite the stormy debates, the differing opinions which were expressed at this rostrum, and the sometimes torrid situation, the Congress has adopted agreed resolutions which are the optimum for the present time, the implementation of which will enable us to get down to active work to deal with the practical tasks which face our country and all the peoples.

Having determined the principles of and machinery for the period of transition, the Congress is also laying down the foundations for our future Union, a Union of sovereign states.

The significance of the coordinathed decisions, by virtue of the fact that the congress is taking place immediately after the putsch that we overcame through joint efforts—though much needs still to be done in the future in order to reach conclusions and finally make the decisions which this moment dictates—makes it possible for us to hope for a stabilization of the situation in the country. And I think that we should say once again here at the Congress that it is the overall will, the overall view of the Congress that we want those who are guilty, and whose guilt shall be established by the investigative bodies and confirmed by the courts, to bear responsibility according to the law. But once again we want to say that stabilization is not possible if a witch-hunt begins, and if, on this wave, a campaign against dissent erupts. There has been pluralism of views, and this should be preserved as the main achievement of our new democracy and glasnost that have become possible in recent years.

We hope, and I think this is something that we all feel in common, that the coordinated decisions have been awaited not only by our own people, but that the whole world community has followed the work of the Congress with great concern, and that it will meet with satisfaction the results of our congress, which open up the opportunity to overcome our difficulties. Moreover, at this time, we feel ourselves to be even more an organic part of the world community than before, and we will pursue a course toward strengthening cooperation with all countries and peoples. Such is the will of the Congress, such is the will of the people. We hope that there will be a reciprocal reaction from other peoples.

So, closing our Congress, I want to say that a great deal of very difficult work lies ahead, a very great deal, and we hope that all those sitting in this hall will do all they can and should, as citizens of this country, to cope with the vital tasks facing us.

I declare the fifth extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR closed. [applause]

Goodbye, comrades.

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## Law on Transitional State Power Issued

*LD0509144391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1350 GMT 5 Sep 91*

["USSR Law on the Bodies of State Power and Government of the USSR in the Transitional Period"—TASS headline]

[Text] [no dateline as received]—Article 1. During the period of transition, the USSR Supreme Soviet, being composed of two independent chambers, the Soviet of Republics and the Soviet of the Union, is the supreme representative body of power in the USSR.

The Soviet of Republics includes 20 deputies from each Union republic from among those who are People's Deputies of the USSR and of the Union republics, being delegated by the supreme bodies of state power in these republics. To take account of the federative structure of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR], it is to have 52 deputies in the Soviet of Republics. Other Union republics which incorporate republics and autonomous formations may delegate an additional one deputy from each republic and autonomous formation into the Soviet of Republics. In order to ensure that the republics have equal rights in voting in the Soviet of Republics, each Union republic has one vote.

The Soviet of the Republics consists of deputations from the Union republics made up from USSR People's Deputies in accordance with current quotas and by agreement with the supreme bodies of state power of the Union republics.

Article 2. The Soviet of Republics and Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet may by joint decision introduce amendments to the USSR Constitution, accept new states into the USSR, listen to the USSR President on the most important issues of domestic and foreign policy, approve the Union budget and the account of its execution, declare war, and conclude peace.

The Union of Republics may adopt decisions on the organization and procedure of work of Union bodies, ratify and deny international treaties of the USSR.

The Soviet of the Union examines issues of ensuring the rights and freedoms of USSR citizens and adopts decisions on all the issues in the USSR Supreme Soviet's competence, excluding those which are in the Soviet of Republics' competence. The laws adopted by the Soviet of the Union come into force after they are approved by the Soviet of Republics.

The supreme bodies of state power of the Union republics have a right to suspend laws adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet on the Republic's territory only if they contradict the Union Republic's Constitution.

Article 3. The USSR State Council is being formed on an inter- republican basis in order to ensure coordinated solutions to the issues of domestic and foreign policy which involve the general interests of republics. The USSR State Council is made up of the USSR President and the supreme officials of union republics named in the USSR Constitution. The USSR President takes charge of the work of the USSR State Council. The USSR State Council determines a procedure for its activity. The USSR State Council's decisions are mandatory.

Article 4. The post of USSR vice president is abolished.

If, for one reason or another, the USSR president is unable to continue to fulfill his duties (including for health reasons confirmed by the conclusion of a state medical commission formed by the USSR Supreme Soviet), the USSR State Council elects from its members a chairman of the USSR State Council, who temporarily fulfills the duties of USSR president. This decision is subject to confirmation by the USSR Supreme Soviet within three days.

Article 5. To coordinate management of the national economy, and to coordinate implementation of economic reforms and social policy, the union republics form, on a parity basis, an inter-republican economic council. The chairman of the council is appointed by the USSR president with the agreement of the USSR State Council. The management of all-union bodies responsible for matters of defense, security, law and order, and international affairs, is effected by the USSR president and the USSR State Council.

The inter-republican economic committee and the leaders of all- union bodies are accountable in their activity to the USSR president, the USSR State Council, and the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Article 6. The status of USSR people's deputy is retained for all deputies for their term in office, including the right to take part in the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet and its bodies.

Article 7. The first session of the new USSR Supreme Soviet is to be convened by the USSR president no later than 2 October 1991.

For the period prior to the start of the new USSR Supreme Soviet the powers of the existing USSR Supreme Soviet are retained and a session of it can be convened by the chairmen of the houses.

Article 8. Those sections of the USSR Constitution which do not contradict current law are valid.

Changes to the USSR Constitution adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet come into effect once they have been ratified by the supreme legislative bodies of all union republics.

Article 9. The current law comes into effect as soon as it is published apart from Article 2, which comes into effect as soon as the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the new convocation opens.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev, president of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Kremlin, Moscow 5 September 1991.

## Television Carries 4 Sep Congress Proceedings

*LD0409075291*

Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian at 0705 GMT on 4 September begins a live relay of the extraordinary session of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow.

At 0707 GMT, Gorbachev, chairing the session, asks deputies to register—1754 are present. Gorbachev then invites Saunin to speak for the secretariat.

At 0709 GMT, Saunin gives some administrative information about contributing to Congress materials, discusses various requests from groups of deputies, and notes telegrams addressed to the Congress. One deputy's objection to the presence of a CPSU official has been settled—the man is a guest as the representative of the central electoral commission. Saunin explains how Zhirinovskiy came to be invited to attend the Congress.

At 0721 GMT, Gorbachev says the question of adopting a declaration of human rights has been raised. He then gives the floor to academician Kudryavtsev.

Kudryavtsev reports on how the declaration was drafted. Originally it was to be part of the constitution. He notes that its provisions are in tune with international documents, and he outlines the general contents of the declaration.

At 0727 GMT, Gorbachev says he understands people have had a chance to see the declaration and he suggests they vote on it. After speaking to an unidentified woman, he suggests that the declaration be given back to the working group for further work.

At 0728 GMT, Gorbachev moves to the removal of Lukyanov and Yanayev from their posts. The vote that Lukyanov be released from his duties is 1702 for, 20 against, with 78 abstentions. The vote to release Yanayev from his duties is 1780 for, 5 against, with 16 abstentions.

At 0732 GMT, Gorbachev moves on to the main business: the Congress resolution. He says all deputies' groups have done a great deal of work, and alternatives have been put forward. In view of the importance of the resolution, he suggests a break until 1100 or 1200 GMT so that those who have submitted alternatives can work with the drafting commission to produce an acceptable document. He puts this proposal to a vote, which is passed with 1289 for and 205 against.

At 0737 GMT, Gorbachev says deputies' groups from the republics have put their suggestions on paper, and he explains to a deputy that leaders of the groups will work with the commission now.

After reading announcements, at 0739 GMT Gorbachev announces that there will be a break until 1200 GMT.

The live relay resumes at 1200 GMT. The session opens with Gorbachev in the chair who explains the work that has been going on in the committees over the documents that the Congress is to adopt. This work has just been concluded, he adds. Gorbachev refers to the expanded documents which the deputies have in their possession, and says that a new statement—of the president and the leaders of the republics—has emerged out of this and the discussions. He says that by 1245 GMT the documents will be ready and they should be issued by 1300 GMT. Gorbachev then proposes that these documents should be considered for about an hour in delegations, and at 1400 GMT the debate on them will recommence.

At 1207 GMT, Gorbachev declares: "And so a recess is declared until 1700 [1400 GMT]." The live relay then ends.

The relay resumes at 1410 GMT.

Gorbachev opens the session by asking for attention and calling for the microphones to be switched on. Deputies register: 1836 are present. Gorbachev then asks to consult with deputies, who moan. He goes on to confirm that the deputies have the relevant documents and asks whether deputies want to proceed to consider the documents. He puts this to a vote. The vote is 954 for, 602 against, with 120 abstentions. He asks whether to proceed to discussion of the documents. There is some confusion in the hall as some deputies object. Gorbachev says this is a discussion of procedural matters and he suggests a maximum of ten minutes for such discussion. This is put to a vote. The proposal is defeated on a vote of 679 for, 907 against, with 105 abstentions. Gorbachev then asks if there should be unlimited discussion of procedural matters. Deputies shout against this. He suggests thirty minutes, which is put to a vote. The 30-minute limit is approved.

At 1420 GMT, Deputy Alksnis takes the rostrum and stresses that the Congress is answerable to history and says that what is happening in the hall does not reflect well on the credit of the deputies. He calls on every deputy to make his own choice and to be reasonable.

At 1421 GMT, Deputy Burykh addresses the Congress. He speaks of the disintegration of the previous order and the dangers of the absence of unity. He says that the most important thing for the Congress should be the individual. He stresses the need for law. He asks for more time to speak, but Gorbachev asks him to stop.

At 1424 GMT, Deputy Samarin takes the rostrum. He speaks of everyone being late in comprehending what is happening because there has been no time. He urges democrats to think as much about the country as about their own worth.

At 1426 GMT, Deputy Starovotova speaks and makes a statement on behalf of the interregional group of deputies, again stressing that deputies do not have the right to place their own interests above general accord. She is applauded.

Deputy Kutsenko then speaks. He questions the role the Congress is playing, noting that there is no longer a chairman of the Supreme Soviet. He says that the Congress must not be a hostage and merely listen quietly and press buttons.

At 1431 GMT, Deputy Galoyan speaks. He urges that the Congress postpone consideration of the documents to allow deputies to assess them in detail.

At 1432 GMT, Anatoliy Sobchak speaks. He reminds deputies that their main duty is to ensure continuity of authority during the transitional period to a new Union and that they have to make a start as soon as possible on devising a new Union treaty and related economic, political, and other agreements. He continues: "Let us suppose we do not make such a decision and go away from this Congress without any results. Then all the conspirators—as well as their accomplices who have been speaking from this rostrum today—will be applauding you." These remarks are followed by uproar in the chamber, and Gorbachev, chairing the session, tries to intervene, but Sobchak presses on, suggesting that the way to proceed is to move without debate directly to adopting the documents paragraph by paragraph since there are some points that are uncontentious and could be dealt with rapidly, with debate to follow on different proposals regarding the more contentious points.

Gorbachev then remarks that the proposals will be considered, "but as chairman I must reject any suggestions that speeches are being made from the rostrum by accomplices and the like. That is inadmissible."

At 1435 GMT, Deputy Shapovalenko speaks from the hall microphone. He urges that accord should be the main order of the day.

Deputy Fomenko then speaks from the floor on the need to take into account the views of voters, many of whom are in favor of preseving the Union.

At 1438 GMT, Deputy Bimbayev speaks from the floor. He stresses a problem that he shares with other deputies from autonomous formations—that he is not empowered to vote on Union issues.

At 1440 GMT. Deputy Stankevich speaks from the floor. He says that while discussion with the republics goes on, the people have to live. He says that it is imperative that the Congress make a decision.

At 1442 GMT, Deputy Zaslavskiy speaks from the rostrum.

Deputy Boldyrev then addresses the Congress. He says that the Congress has to acknowledge realities. Yes, the

Congress is the highest legislative body in the country, but it did nothing to stop the putsch. The Congress has to recognize, Boldyrev continues, that "first and foremost, we are guilty."

At 1445 GMT, Deputy Kirilov speaks from the rostrum. If the Congress cannot ensure a single Union, he says, then it should leave the political arena.

Deputy Sheboldayev then speaks from the floor, warning of the influence of separatists of all hues.

At 1449 GMT, Gorbachev says that 30 minutes have elapsed. He consults with the Congress on how to proceed. A suggestion has been proposed that there should be a break for discussion by commissions and for the commissions to report on the results of the discussions by 1800 GMT. A decision could then be made tomorrow morning, he adds.

Before putting this to a vote, he puts the issue of whether this should be a roll-call vote to the vote. The result is 948 for, 656 against, with 127 abstentions.

At 1453 GMT, a Ukrainian deputy makes the point that documents must be adopted by a two-thirds majority.

A vote is then taken on adopting the Congress resolution as a basis for debate. This is approved by 1126 deputies with 289 against.

At 1458 GMT, Gorbachev reads a telegram he received from Armenian President Ter-Petrosyan disavowing the remarks made earlier by Armenian Deputy Galoyan and expressing support for the document.

A vote is then held on whether to adopt the bill on USSR Government structures as a basis for debate. The proposal is passed with 1200 for, 275 against, with 190 abstentions.

Deputy Samarin then intervenes from the floor, asking for details on the proposed arrangement for the continuation of the Supreme Soviet. Gorbachev reads the relevant portion of the text in clarification.

At 1503 GMT, Gorbachev outlines another option: To finish by 1800 GMT, commissions can work overnight, and tomorrow we shall move on to debate the documents that have been drafted. He recalls Stankevich's proposal to discuss things more today. Another option is to discuss documents now and work until the Congress is finished. A vote is held on whether to adjourn proceedings so that deputies can work on additional proposals for the commissions. The vote is 1317 for, 317 against, with 73 abstentions. Gorbachev announces that tomorrow's session will begin at 0700 GMT. He adds that proposals must reach the commissions today by 1800 GMT.

The Congress is then adjourned and the live relay ends.

## Statement on Union Relations Published

*CM0209085791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Sep 91 Union Edition p 1*

["Statement of the USSR President and the Highest Leaders of the Union Republics"]

[Text] As a result of the coup d'etat carried out on 19 to 21 August, the process of forming new Union relations among sovereign states was broken off, and this brought the country to the verge of catastrophe. The situation in the country after the putsch, if it had got out of control, might have brought about unforetold consequences both within the country and also in relations with foreign states. We declare that the breakdown of the conspiracy and the victory of democratic forces inflicted a serious blow to the reactionary forces and to everything that was holding up the process of democratic change. This very fact has been created a historic opportunity for speeding up radical changes and for the country's renewal.

In these circumstances, and in order to prevent the further collapse of the structures of authority and prior to the creation of a new political, state system of relations between the republics and the formation of interrepublic (union) structures of authority for the transitional period (prior to the adoption of a new constitution and the holding of elections of new organs of authority on the basis of that constitution), the country's legally elected highest leaders, in the person of the USSR president and the presidents and chairmen of the supreme soviets of the republics, have agreed on the need for the following:

1. All willing republics to prepare and sign a treaty on a Union of sovereign states, in which each of them will be able independently to determine the form of its participation in the Union.

2. To propose to all republics, independently of the status they proclaim, to conclude immediately an economic union in order to cooperate in the framework of a single free economic area and for the sake of the normal functioning of the national economy, the provision of vital services to the population, and the accelerated implementation of radical economic reforms.

3. In the transitional period, to create a council of representatives of people's deputies on the principle of equal representation from the Union republics—20 deputies each from the USSR and republican deputies delegated by their supreme soviets—with the purpose of fulfilling legislative functions and drawing up a new constitution for the Union of sovereign states.

A State Council comprising the USSR president and the highest officials of the union republics should be set up to resolve in a coordinated way questions of internal and external policy that concern the common interests of the republics. For coordination of the management of the national economy and the agreed implementation of economic reforms an interim interrepublican economic committee, made up of representatives of all republics on the basis of parity, is to be set up. After it has been prepared, the draft constitution should be examined and endorsed by the parliaments of Union republics and finally adopted at a congress of authorized representatives of Union republics.

It should be confirmed that all elected deputies are to retain their status as USSR people's deputies for the entire period for which they were elected. In this connection, we appeal to the Congress to suspend temporarily the corresponding articles of the USSR Constitution.

4. An agreement should be concluded, based on the principles of collective security, in the sphere of defense in order to preserve united armed forces and a single military-strategic area and to carry out radical reforms in the armed forces, the USSR KGB, the Internal Affairs Ministry, and the USSR Procuratorate in a manner that takes account of the republics' sovereignty.

5. It should be confirmed that all international agreements and undertakings made by the USSR, including questions involving the reduction and control of armaments, and external economic obligations, will be strictly honored.

6. To adopt a declaration guaranteeing the rights and freedom of citizens regardless of their nationality, place of residence, membership of a political party or political views, and also guaranteeing the rights of national minorities.

7. To request that the USSR Congress of People's Deputies support the appeals to the United Nations by the leaders of the Union republics to acknowledge them as subjects of international law, and to examine the question of their membership in this organization.

In connection with the urgency of carrying out the measures indicated, which have been dictated by the situation that has arisen, we appeal to the Congress to urgently adopt a resolution on the issues put forward.

The statement was signed by the USSR president and the top leaders of the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Belorussia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Kyrgystan, Tajikistan, Armenia and Turkmenia. Georgia—a Georgian representative—took part in the work.

## IZVESTIYA Correction

*PM0309203191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Sep 91 Union Edition p 7*

[Unattributed report: "Correction"]

[Text] The statement by the USSR president and the highest leaders of the union republics carried by TASS and published in IZVESTIYA (No. 209) contains a number of inaccuracies of style and punctuation. A comma is required in the fourth paragraph of the document after the word "interrepublic" and the next word —"union"—appears without parentheses in the original. The second paragraph of point three of the statement should, instead of what appears after the words "by their Supreme Soviets," read as follows: "to resolve general questions of principle." The word "union" does not appear in the third line of the third paragraph of this same point.

The paragraph that begins with the words "The statement was signed" reads as follows: "The statement was signed by the USSR president and the highest leaders of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], the Ukraine, Belorussia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Armenia, and Turkmenia. Georgia took part in the work."

## Gorbachev Reiterates Need for Renewed Union

*LD0509211291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 5 Sep 91*

[Report by correspondent D. Kiselev on Congress of USSR People's Deputies held in Moscow, including interview with USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev by unidentified correspondent in the lobby of the Kremlin following conclusion of congress on 5 September; introduced by anchorman Sergey Medvedev; from the "Television News Service" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] The congress finished its work at the Kremlin today. At the congress conservative forces were unable to unite and give a rebuff to the initiators of the ten plus one statement, who managed for all intents and purposes to bring the congress to the desired result. Thus the revenge-seeking that one might full well have expected did not occur. [passage omitted]

[Kiselev] Here you see the new Gorbachev surrounded by his Yeltsin-style guards, who as you know no longer belong to the KGB. This is the way he is protected from the journalists. But for the Television News Service program our president found time for the shortest interview of his political career.

[Unidentified correspondent] Could you tell us please whether from the outcome of the latest events and from the congress, it can be firmly stated that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics no longer exists?

[Gorbachev] You know, I think that I would confirm something different, that is the great wish for concord and the realization that we need the Union, but a renewed Union. This renewal must lead us to a formula—I think life has already been showing us this—that will accord with the interests of all the peoples in continuing to live together and cooperate. It will nevertheless be a treaty for a union of sovereign states which will make it possible for each people to determine the form of its participation, the degree of its participation, and to proceed further together along a common road. In general the people still realize this, and I am very pleased that the politicians at this difficult time have expressed this most profound wish and aspiration of our people.

### Praises 'Decisive Step'

*LD0509152891 Moscow TASS in English 1511 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—Soviet President Gorbachev has stated that the resolutions of the extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies, which ended in the Kremlin today, mean that "all nations have chosen to live together and cooperate." In his short interview to TASS after the end of the congress he stressed the significance of the forthcoming signing of the treaty on the union of sovereign states. According to Gorbachev, the treaty "will enable all nations to determine the form and degree of its participation and follow together our common path. I am very glad that at that difficult moment politicians expressed most profound desire of the nations to live together."

Tremendous renewal has certainly taken place, and this is the most important thing, the president said. "The rest will gradually be put in order," he added.

"Feelings in society in favour of accord are so strong, that nobody could ignore them. Those politicians and political movements which ignore them are doomed. This country has been formed in this way. This is what the real situation is like, and we shall start reforming within the framework of new approaches, since we have been given a chance to do everything in a new way. We have made a decisive step towards new forms of life," the president said.

### Congress Decisions Beginning of 'New Epoch'

*LD0509135291 Moscow TASS in English 1320 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[By TASS world service observer Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—The Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR, a legislative body of 2,000 people, today agreed on its self-disbandment, ending the third year of its existence.

Most people's deputies voted in favour of the documents creating new power and managing structures in the country, and virtually suspending the old Congress.

By its "death", the four-day fifth extraordinary congress has manifested the beginning of a new epoch. In conditions of practical disintegration of the old Soviet Union, propelled by the failed coup, a resolute step has been made towards creating a new form of state, based on an absolutely free political and economic union of independent states, in which the centre retains coordinating functions.

The congress has not played a revolutionary role on its own initiative. After several days of inducing and sometimes direct pressure on the part of authors of the statement and their supporters, deputies elected at the dawn of Soviet democracy, approved a concept proposed by the Soviet president and leaders of ten republics willing to retain a political union.

Conservative forces, rather influential among deputies, failed to unite and rebuff the initiative by "eleven", who practically imposed their will upon the legislative body. A "parliamentary counterrevolution" and a revenge by forces defeated after the putsch, so feared by democrats, did not take place.

Documents were passed by a two thirds majority, which laid a legal basis for new power structures for a transitional period, have real revolutionary significance. They unconditionally recognise independence of those republics which proclaimed it.

They approve a new concept for a union. Republics can choose the degree of participation in the Union treaty for themselves, including full, associated or observer status. All republics irrespective of proclaimed status are invited to take part in an economic union.

Summing up the results of the congress, we can draw several conclusions. First, most republics are ready to exert efforts to retain the union of sovereign states, despite their independence declarations.

Second, a new real power has emerged in the country, based on accord between the Soviet president and leaders of republics participating in the Novo-Ogarevo process, primarily Russia, Kazakhstan and the Ukraine.

Daring political initiatives by the "eleven" show that Mikhail Gorbachev has found common language with leaders of republics, which proclaimed their independence, while republics can put their differences on the back burner, where the state's interests are concerned.

Third, the congress has shown that so far there is no organised political opposition to forces, which won a victory in the country on August 21. Even in the most complex moments of the congress, Gorbachev managed to control the situation.

Although the results of the congress can be considered as an unconditional victory of democratic forces, there are no grounds for euphoria, as the main problems are still ahead, including adjusting interrepublican cooperation and the activities of new managing structures and saving the economy, which is on the brink of collapse.

Nevertheless, a new epoch has begun.

### Yakovlev Stresses Solving Economic Problems

*LD0309182491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1428 GMT 3 Sep 91*

[Text] Moscow, 3 September (TASS)—"No, I don't believe in the possibility of a fresh coup," USSR people's deputy Aleksandr Yakovlev unambiguously answered a question from journalists.

At an improvised news conference that took place today during a congress break, he stressed the importance of solving economic problems. In his words, apart from the well-known programs and concepts of Leonid Abalkin, Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, and others, a group of RSFSR people's deputies has just put forward new proposals concerning the improvement of the country's economy.

In Aleksandr Yakovlev's view a commission needs to be set up at the congress as quickly as possible, a commission that would prepare a treaty on an economic union.

## Congress Deputies Comment on Current Issues

*LD0409173591*

[Editorial Report] Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian at 0430 GMT on 4 September carries a 5-minute report by correspondent Vladimir Perfilyev from the Congress of USSR People's Deputies being held in the Kremlin in Moscow on 3 September in which Perfilyev interviews several deputies participating in the session.

While speaking to Perfilyev, Nikolay Neylant from Riga, member of the Supreme Soviet and member of the Committee for International Affairs, says that he "hopes that the Congress will endorse our declaration on independence. It will be against our interests to fence ourselves off from our eastern neighbor since more than 90 percent of our trade ties are ties with the east, that is with Russia, the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and so on. Russia was and will remain our great neighbor so we need good political and economic relations with it."

Kazimiera Prunskiene, ex-prime minister of Lithuania, in her comments says: "I have recently been to Germany where I had quite a long conversation with Minister Genscher. We discussed the real possibility of the Baltic states being associated with the countries of the European Community. This does not mean direct entry yet but I think we will be able to acquire the status of an associate member in future and this will strengthen our economic position and also our position in future relations with Russia and other states of the Union, whatever it will be called. Of course, this will give us an opportunity to implement on a larger area our potential as a mediator between the east and the west since from the point of view of our geographical and even political experience this role will suit us."

Academician Shatalin also talks to Perfilyev and says the following: "During a transition period we must have a parliament, the main aim of which is to protect the individual and all his rights. People are afraid, I understand this perfectly, one cannot ignore this factor, but community will be bound to show that people on any territory and of any nationality are protected. There is no evil and hatred, all this is largely artificial. Much nationalism is the result of our clumsy political, economic and national actions."

Aleksandr Rutskoy makes the following remarks in his replies: "What happened in Russia 74 years ago was done especially to do away with the Russian Empire. At this moment talk about Russian dictat and the creation of a Russian empire is nonsense. Why? Because the Russian parliament itself, and I know Russian President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin well, do not hold with this belief. I have never heard a word from Boris Nikolayevich, Khasbulatov, or Silayev even approximating to the idea of creating a Russian empire."

Replying to a question about opinions that the Congress was not opened in a democratic way, Rutskoy says: "Some understand democracy to mean that anything is allowed, that is they say that I do what I want and that this is democracy. This is fallacy. As Nobel said very well on this subject: he said that any democracy in its pure form which does not lean on the law ends with power in the hands of the scum. Therefore democracy in essense is the power of the people and the power is expressed in the law; if the law is observed by everybody and everybody is synonymously, I underline this, equal before the law, then this is democracy."

## Silayev, Yavlinskiy Hold News Conference 3 Sep

*LD0309192391*

[Editorial Report] Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian at 1600 GMT on 3 September carries a four-minute report with recorded excerpts on a news conference by Grigoriy Alekseyevich Yavlinskiy, "prominent" economist, and Russian Prime Minister Ivan Silayev at the press center of the extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies in Moscow on 3 September.

Answering a question about whether the committee's work was connected with Academician Shatalin's work to involve all the republics in economic reforms, Yavlinskiy says that the issue of an economic agreement was a most topical one and that "we" would use Shatalin's work "in the drafting of the main text of an economic agreement." The preparation of the draft of an economic agreement is among the most urgent tasks currently being tackled.

Answering a question about what structures of power the committee would rely on in its work, Silayev says: "First and foremost, we would rely on the leadership of republics. The fact that representatives of all 15 republics are taking part in our work enables us to feel quite confident, to cooperate and arrive at decisions. Naturally, the executive mechanism is still there; it exists and we decided temporarily, until a new Union-wide body is formed, we instructed the first deputy ministers of the still existing ministries and Union committees to take charge of these sectors.

"The main stress in our work, however, revolves round searching for consensus and we do find this consensus with the leadership of the republics and their representatives in our committee. We have already begun to formulate our vision of the mechanism which ought to carry out the interaction between the president and the republics and to ensure the coordination of their actions where necessary, the state sovereignty of the participating entities, or entities yet to participate in the economic community being observed. We fully support the main tenets of the statement, emphasizing somewhat its aspects that relate to an economic agreement. We think this is the most important thing and that it should be in the forefront.

"Our concepts of the future union body also coincide somewhat. We, too, have proposals, but already at this stage it is our conclusion that there should no longer be a Cabinet of Ministers in any form. Consequently, there ought to exist a different mechanism. And the fact that an economic committee has been mentioned—it is, in our view, the bridge whereby the country's president can interact with the executive authorities in all the republics. Finally, it is our view that an economic union ought to be open to all who wish to join it. Evidently, those from the former Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics will, naturally, join it before anyone else, if that is what they want. However, we imagine the participation in it of such countries as Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary as completely realistic, should a desire to do so emerge. This is because they are no less integrated in our old economy than we ourselves. If this is of interest to them, it seems to me that our community ought to accept them as members of this economic union."

## Deputies Believe Electors Opposed Coup

*OW0309130991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1130 GMT 3 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] An opinion poll taken among USSR people's deputies has shown that the State Emergency Committee did not enjoy any serious support among the population. The deputies believe that a mere 3 per cent of their electors approved of the putschists' activities, 11 per cent showed indifference and 43 per cent disapproved of them. The poll was taken by an independent organization called Institute for the Sociology of Parliamentarianism on August 30 and September 1, 1991, during the registration of the participants in the Extraordinary Fifth Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR. A total of 994 persons were questioned (44 per cent of all people's deputies). As many as 46 per cent of respondents thought that the Soviet Union would be a federation in future, 27 per cent believed that it would be a confederation, whereas 15 per cent took the view that it would disintegrate into several independent states. The measures taken by the Soviet leadership after the events of August 19-22, 1991, have been supported by 26 per cent of respondents and opposed by 14 per cent; 41 per cent sympathized with the Russian leadership, and 14 per cent disapproved of its policy. Boris Yeltsin was the statesman enjoying the greatest support among the respondents (66 per cent). He was followed by Anatoliy Sobchak (48.3 per cent), Mikhail Gorbachev (41.3 per cent), Nursultan Nazarbayev (37.4 per cent), Ivan Silayev (22.2 per cent) and Eduard Shevardnadze (12.5 per cent). 38 per cent of those questioned would like Anatoliy Sobchak to be Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 15.9 per cent thought the post should go to Konstantin Lubenchenko and 2.5 per cent were in favor of Yuriy Kalmykov. 19.5 per cent of respondents believed that the post of Vice-President should be given to Aleksandr Yakovlev, 10.5 per cent would prefer Nursultan Nazarbayev and 4.8 Anatoliy Sobchak.

## Sobchak Cited on Russian Border Revision

*LD0209174791*

[Editorial Report] Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian at 1600 GMT on 2 September carries a 4-minute recording of a news conference given during a break in the work of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies by lawyer deputies Sobchak, Alekseyev, Shakhray, and Lubenchenko for Soviet and foreign journalists.

Asked whether Russia's acceptance of Nazarbayev's proposals means that it is renouncing any review of borders, Sobchak replies: "Incidentally, the Russian Federation did not make any statement on reviewing borders, so the question has been incorrectly posed. This interpretation of the statement made by the Russian president's press attache is too liberal, or as lawyers put it, too broad. So there is nothing to renounce. As concerns the achievement of agreement, both in the statement and in the mutual relations between Russia and the Ukraine, Russia and Kazakhstan, and Russia and the Baltic states, this is a legally consolidated fact, so I don't think this issue is currently on the agenda."

## Democratic Reform Appeal for Legal Foundation

*LD0109204191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1905 GMT 1 Sep 91*

[Text] Moscow, 1 Sep (TASS)—The Political Council of the Movement for Democratic Reforms today circulated two statements on the eve of the opening of the Extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

Appealing to USSR people's deputies, the movement's Political Council stresses that democracy has won and that the demands on the Congress in current conditions are particularly high. However, the USSR Supreme Soviet session which has been held showed that fears of the possible transformation of the Congress into an arena for revenge by reactionary forces are far from unfounded.

In this connection, the movement's Political Council considers that in its current form the Congress should not take strategic decisions determining the lives of the peoples of our country in the long term. Its task is to lay down legal foundations for the operation of the structures of state power in the transition period during which a new system of interrelations between sovereign states on the territory of the USSR should take shape.

We see the basis for this system in economic agreement which permits us to preserve a single economic and democratic space and stimulate the search for political solutions which enable there to be guarantees for basic human rights and freedoms and also to lay the foundations for collective security. To this end the creation of interrepublican bodies fulfilling the following functions should be envisaged:

—In the political sphere: the settlement of territorial, property, and other mutual claims by republics, the control of bodies which ensure the security of the country and the fulfillment of its international obligations;

—In the economic sphere: the pursuit of a coordinated credit, finance, and monetary policy in order to prevent the catastrophic impoverishment of the people and to safeguard the vital activity of the country.

We support the decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet on its immediate and complete rotation and we hope that with its new membership it will be able to fulfill its consolidating role. Should the debate at the Congress prove to be unproductive, and should the resolution of the most acute problems drag on, we shall support the demands of strike committees, labor collectives, parties, and public movements to hold mass protest actions calling for the immediate resignation of the Congress and for it to be replaced by temporary interrepublican power structures.

The other statement by the Political Council of the Democratic Reforms Movement points out that the victory by democratic forces creates conditions for a switch to a truly law governed state structure. This envisages guarantees of rights and freedoms for all who, acting within the framework of the law, set up any political or public associations.

The political responsibility of the CPSU leadership for the critical situation in the country will undoubtedly be borne, in accordance with the law and morality, by those who prepared and organized the putsch, who led and implemented it, who took part in it directly or supported it on the quiet. However, everything must be done not only to punish those who are really to blame but also to ensure that the innocent are not punished, and, the main thing, to prevent simple anger against those behind the putsch from escalating into fits of mob rule, arbitrary actions, and a new lawlessness.

We say a resolute and firm "No!" to any tyranny, to any disregard for the law and for human rights. No to anarchy and hatred, no to the revival of the worst pages of our past. Bolshevism must not be replaced by neobolshevism, fanaticism, or intolerance of any sort.

The guarantee against political monopolism and the threat of a further coup can lie only in the normal political organization of society where each individual has the opportunity to express and stand up for his or her convictions.

In this connection, the document by the Political Council of the Democratic Reforms Movement points out, we consider it necessary to take steps to develop the multiparty system in our country and state support for it based on world experience. The nationalized property of the CPSU could be use to finance the activity of political parties and create new public associations operating within the framework of parliamentary democracy.

The Political Council of the Democratic Reforms Movement again returns to its proposal on the need for a permanent process of talks (roundtable) between political parties and associations as a mechanism for coordinating and settling their positions and interests.

## Zhirinovskiy on Presidential Candidacy Prospects

*LD0309175291 Moscow TASS in English 1249 GMT 3 Sep 91*

[Text] Moscow September 3 TASS—Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of the USSR, has no doubts that the Congress of USSR People's Deputies under way here will be a failure. He said this today in the lobbies of the Congress where he gave an impromptu news conference.

"The union is no more. It has disintegrated", Zhirinovskiy said. The former Russian presidential candidate believes he will win at new elections. "I can count on 60 million ballots in Russia, and 52 million ballots are enough to win", he said.

He said that a new State Committee for the State of Emergency will be formed if he wins. "I shall immediately introduce the state of emergency, close all newspapers and dissolve all parties", he said. He believes that success in the economic area will be ensured by the state order whose fulfilment will be rigidly controlled by the new State Committee for the State of Emergency.

Zhirinovskiy is confident of popular support. "They have nowhere else to turn. A rigorous winter is impending. There is a threat of famine and strikes. There will be unrest in army barracks. The present leaders cannot offer anything to the people. I shall resolve everything. I will achieve this by a simple step. I shall send troops into the former GDR, one and a half million people, I shall threaten with arms, also nuclear, and there will be abundance of goods".

Objecting to journalists comparing him to Hitler, Zhirinovskiy said in all seriousness: "Adolf was an illiterate corporal, whereas I have graduated from two higher educational establishments and have the command of four languages".

## Supreme Soviet

### Presidium Cancels 17 September Session

*LD0509143191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1405 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] Moscow, 5 Sep (TASS)—A sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium took place in the Kremlin today. It was led by Ivan Laptev and Rafik Nishanov, chairmen of the chambers.

Certain issues connected with implementation of the decisions of the Fifth Extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies were examined at it. Proceeding from the congress' decision to convene the first sitting of the new composition of the USSR Supreme Soviet no later than 2 October 1991, the Presidium resolved not to hold the sixth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet scheduled for 17 September. A thorough exchange of views on the tasks of committees and standing commissions of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet in connection with preparations for the first sitting of the new composition of the USSR Supreme Soviet's session took place.

### Law on Investigation Into Coup

*LD0509143291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1319 GMT 5 Sep 91*

["Law on Investigation into Coup d'Etat"—TASS headline]

[Text] [No dateline as received]—Law of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

On the formation, the powers, and operating procedure of the Parliamentary Commission to Investigate the Causes and Circumstances of the Coup d'Etat in the USSR.

The USSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

Article 1. To form in accordance with Article 120 of the USSR Constitution a parliamentary commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet to investigate the causes and circumstances of the coup d'etat that took place on 18-21 August 1991.

Article 2. USSR people's deputies elected to the commission are released on pay, for the duration of its work, from the fulfillment of other duties.

Article 3. The main aim of the commission is to investigate and analyze the circumstances of perpetrating the coup d'etat that took place in the USSR on 18-21 August 1991, and to give a political assessment of this event.

Article 4. The tasks of the commission:

To investigate the causes and aims of organizing the coup d'etat, and to determine the Union state structures and officials who took part in it:

To establish the role of the all-Union public organizations, their bodies and officials in preparing and carrying out the coup d'etat; to uncover the deficiences of existing legislation that hampered the prevention and foiling of the coup, and to elaborate proposals to remove these deficiencies.

Article 5. The Commission for the Results of the Investigation is to present its report to the USSR Supreme Soviet by 1 December 1991.

Article 6. The commission has the right:

To call upon officials of state bodies and public organizations to give explanations, and to invite citizens, including people's deputies, to do so. These persons' explanations are to be heard by the members of the commission and taken down;

To aquaint itself with any materials of the law enforcement bodies conducting the investigation into the circumstances in connection with which the commission has been formed;

To acquaint itself with any documents or other materials of the state bodies and public organizations, to make copies of them, and also remove these documents temporarily, for a period of not more than 24 hours, if in the commission's opinion they can be used to resolve the tasks facing the commission; a certificate of removal of the documents is to be issued;

To raise with the appropriate bodies, in keeping with the law, the question of temporarily removing from execution of their official duties those officials of state bodies of the USSR and all-Union public organizations against whom there is proof that their actions or inaction hamper the objective conduct of the investigation;

To visit, together with experts possessing the appropriate pass any facilities, regardless of their status of secrecy, and inspect documents and other materials regardless of their degree of secrecy in keeping with the regulations for USSR people's deputies' handling of secret information;

To enlist representatives of state bodies, of public associations, scientists and specialists in its work in the capacity of experts. On the basis of the commission's decision to enlist these persons to participate in its work, the heads of the relevant enterprises, institutions or organizations are to immediately (within one day) issue an order making them available to the commission.

All expenses connected with employment of experts and specialists are recovered from the budget of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Article 7. In its work, the commission is guided by the USSR Constitution and the laws of the USSR, by the constitutions and laws of the republics, by the decrees of the USSR president and the presidents of the republics, and also by this law itself.

Article 8. The sessions of the commission are legally valid provided at least half the members of the commission are present at them.

Decisions are made by a majority of votes of the full membership of the commission.

Article 9. Subcommissions, if such are formed from among the membership of the commission, carry out the investigation in their field and submit their proposals to the commission.

Article 10. The chairman of the commission organizes the commission's work and chairs its sessions, and also coordinates the work of subcommissions.

Article 11. Sessions of the commission are closed or, should it so decide, open.

Information about the work of the commission is given by its chairman or a person authorized by decision of the commission.

Article 12. The commission ensures the prevention of leakage of secret or confidential information received in the course of its work.

Article 13. The commission completes its work by submitting a report to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Members of the commission who have a dissenting opinion have the right to report it to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The conclusions and proposals contained in the report are subject to examination at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and decisions ensuing from them that are adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet are mandatory for state bodies, public organizations and officials to whom they are addressed.

Article 14. Materials of the commission which are evidence of criminal activities by one or another official are passed to bodies of the Procuracy.

Article 15. Officials of state bodies and public organizations are obliged to carry out the instructions of the commission and its members and to assist in the commission's work.

The commission has the right, in accordance with the laws of the USSR and of the republics, to raise the question of making officials liable to disciplinary action or to administrative or criminal proceedings, as provided for by legislation, for refusing to give explanations, for failing to supply documents and other materials, or for destroying or falsifying them, for giving false evidence, or for hindering the work of the commission in some other way.

Article 16. This law is to come into effect from the moment of its adoption.

[Signed] President of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

M. Gorbachev.

[Dated] Moscow, the Kremlin

31 August 1991

## Members of Committee To Investigate Coup Named

*PM0309103191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Sep 91 Union Edition p 1*

[Report from IZVESTIYA, RIA (Russian Information Agency), INTERFAX, TASS roundup: "Union Parliament Forms Commission To Investigate Coup d'Etat 18-21 August 1991"]

[Text] The Commission To Investigate the Coup d'Etat 18-21 August 1991 consists of M. Abasov, member of the Committee for Science and Technology; Ye. Aypin, member of the Commission for Nationalities Policy and Interethnic Relations; USSR People's Deputy P. Akhunov; G. Voskanyan, member of the Committee for State Building [komitet po gosudarstvennomy stroitelstvu]; V. Karyagin, member of the Committee for Legislation and Law and Order; Yu. Komarov, chairman of the Committee for Construction; A. Korshunov, member of the Committee for Construction; K. Lubenchenko, deputy chairman of the Committee for Legislation and Law and Order; T. Momotova and A. Obolenskiy, members of the Committee for the Union-Wide Consumer Market; V. Podziruk, member of the Committee for Defense and Security Questions; T. Pupkevich, member of the Committee for Ecology and the Committee for State Building; K. Usenbekov, member of the Committee for State Building; A. Chukhrayev, member of the Committee for the Protection of the People's Health; and V. Yudin, member of the Committee for Legislation and Law and Order.

## Supreme Soviet Sesssion Proceedings Reviewed

*PM0209142991 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Aug 91 Single Edition p 3*

[Report by parliamentary correspondent Captain Third Rank V. Yermolin under the "News of the Day" rubric: "Parade of Claims"]

[Text] "Only a confederation!" was heard from the session rostrum. The phrase belonged to a recognized authority in the country—President N. Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan. His thought was echoed in one way or another by many people. You got the impression that the deputies have already prepared themselves morally for the Union's self-disbandment and have used the rostrum or a place by a microphone merely to put on record in the eyes of millions of television viewers their loyalty to victorious democracy. Just one deputy—Leningrad Mayor A. Sobchak—seems to have warned very definitely of the danger of "complete sovereignization," of dividing the Army up into "clan communes," etc. He urged people to be realistic and to make full use today of the potential of the USSR Constitution and presidential power.

There is no need to relate the further course of the debate over this topic—there will certainly be detailed reports in the press, not to mention live relays on radio and television. I will speak only of something that cannot fail to cause alarm. For a few days now the country has had a new status—an exhaustive definition of this status has not yet been found, but Russia has already been forced to mention the problem, which really exists, of interrepublican borders. Borders which, as the USSR president declared, were established in the overwhelming majority of cases (up to 70 percent) by a decision of local city and even settlement soviets. An exchange of political "slaps in the face" is already in full swing before an audience of millions of television viewers and radio listeners, and not just specific persons but also entire peoples are being insulted in passing, grievances are simmering at government levels, and one can only guess at how things will blow up there, in the provinces. It is as though the coup d'etat and its failure were for some merely a favorable stage in centrifugal aspirations. Neither more nor less.

And the struggle for the Army, for the right to possess one piece or more of the USSR Armed Forces, which are being torn apart today, is being waged and is strengthening in secret, seldom openly.

The Ukraine, for example, considered it the right time to adopt a decision on the subordination of all the military formations stationed in the republic to its own Supreme Soviet. This affects three military districts and the Black Sea Fleet. And L. Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian Parliament, has unequivocally declared that he favors a confederation. One can only guess at how many voices are "working on" the Army in the provinces, whispering "Our cause is righteous!" and promising "masses of gold" for agreeing to be transformed overnight from servicemen of the USSR Armed Forces into republican guards. There have been similar cases before, but now that speeches on the parliamentary Mount Olympus are so ardent and argumentative, today, I do not doubt, appetites concerning the Army have been whetted in earnest.

The whole question now boils down to one thing: Who now is capable of halting this avalanche-like parade of claims to armed might, which was the logical sequel to the parade of sovereignties?

The second day of the session's work saw more voices in favor of preserving the Union precisely as a federative state. Above all, the speech of USSR People's Deputy M. Bocharov noticeably stood out with its concern for "earthly" things. The economist reminded deputies that the country is on the threshold of a severe winter, but the national economy has one foot in the grave. To scatter in different directions today is to "vanish one by one." Backing, and very vigorous backing too, also came from the Russian deputies' corps. Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic People's Deputy O. Rumyantsev urged people to stop and "not wreck what was created over the centuries." He proposed a number of specific measures, which are the only road to salvation for the Union today.

Yesterday, Tuesday, the USSR president confirmed from the rostrum his adherence to preserving the Union with unified Armed Forces. But it is clear to everyone today that the successful implementation of M. Gorbachev's designs is directly dependent on the position of Russian President B. Yeltsin, whose role in the country has increased immeasurably over the past week. I mean his role in determining the further destiny of not only Russia but also the entire Union. But it seems that the very same factor in some places is also producing results that are opposite in sign: Fears are becoming apparent in the republics—will a strong Russia not reinstate the "institution of younger brothers," i.e. national outlying districts?

The 27 August meeting of M. Gorbachev, B. Yeltsin, N. Nazarbayev, and A. Akayev gives hope that the leaders of the Union have not yet lost their mutual understanding and are capable of arriving at a common decision. It was officially stated that "during the talks serious doubt was expressed as to the expediency of creating separate national armies, with the exception of the possible formation of small national guard units." The sides advocated signing the Union Treaty and confirmed their adherence to the idea of creating a Union of Sovereign States.

I will not venture to develop this theme further. The situation is changing hourly. Yesterday Nazarbayev advocated a confederation, but today he is not against a federation, and this is how you have to understand M. Gorbachev's statement at the session that "full mutual understanding was reached" at the meeting of the four presidents. A Union and Russian delegation has already flown to the Ukrainian capital to discuss painful questions of the state system and territorial problems. So any forecast is untenable—it cannot keep pace with life. Yes, the desire of the republics, peoples, and nations for the degree of freedom that they consider worthy for them is a reality that must not be disregarded. But it would be a disastrous mistake both on the part of people's deputies and on the part of those who wield real power in the republics and in the Union not to notice the present sentiments of national radicalism on the one hand and militant "post-Bolshevism" on the other. These seemingly disparate forces will merge into one—and there will be a flare-up. So, it will be as in the legendary song, but in a new way: "Farewell, vast country! Rise up for a fight to the death..." "Fight to the death" against whom, for what?

Will the country with its great, thousands-year history really take a suicidal step?

### Defense, Security Committees Dissolved

*OW3008193791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1900 GMT 30 Aug 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet decided on Friday to dissolve the parliamentary Defense and Security Committee for its inactivity throughout the three days of the coup.

Another resolution, passed by a majority vote, enhances the personal security of MPs by amending the law on the status of USSR People's Deputies and introducing a provision that prohibits the search of parliamentarians.

The law was amended in response to a complaint from the MP Valentin Falin that the USSR Procurator's Office had searched his apartment. Earlier the law guaranteed only parliamentary immunity.

### Correction to Doguzhiyev 28 Sep Speech

*LD3108030591*

The following correction pertains to the item "Doguzhiyev Speaks for Congress" published on pages 27-29 of the 29 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT.

Pages 29, first column, last paragraph should read: ...to the law. (new paragraph)

The next morning I did not attend the meeting of the SCSE, despite what I had been told earlier, and gave an instruction to convene the Presidium of the Cabinet of Ministers at 1300 in order to discuss two issues. In the morning, Moskovskiy, chairman of the Board of the Vneshekonombank, telephoned me and explained to me the situation that was taking shape in our foreign economic activity. I telephoned Shcherbakov and gave him a relevant instruction to prepare this issue in order to examine it at the Presidium. At the same time, we agreed with Shcherbakov that the issue of the current moment and our statement should be submitted to the Presidium. I gave an instruction to prepare the text of the statement right away. I telephoned Comrade Lukyanov and went to see him immediately.

I am speaking here more about myself, perhaps, because at the time I was officially responsible for the government's activity, although that instruction was illegal. So please understand me correctly. I am not defending myself, but this shows what the government was doing.

I went to Comrade Lukyanov and voiced my thoughts about the illegal nature of the SCSE and its actions. He agreed. I told him that a statement by the Presidium of the Cabinet of Ministers would be adopted today and that we would carry out only the USSR Constitution and laws and the decisions by President Gorbachev and the USSR Supreme Soviet. Lukyanov approved that. Such a statement was adopted in the afternoon and we instructed Comrade Shcherbakov to make it known to journalists at the news conference the same evening. Members of the Supreme Soviet have texts of the statement and minutes of the meeting and therefore there is no need for me to recount them in detail.

What conclusions are to be drawn? In the complex critical situation, and given the absence of enough information, the Cabinet of Ministers did not find its bearings right away. But neither the Cabinet, nor its Presidium adopted a single decision, resolution or other document in support of the SCSE, nor did they implement a single decision of the SCSE. We thought it was our main obligation to keep in check the division, the collapse of the national economy, I'm sorry, and underestimated the political situation.

The Cabinet of Ministers is guilty of not assessing in a principled way the action of Pavlov, former prime minister and former member of the SCSE, even at that conference on the 19th. It did not assume the position of overtly criticizing the criminal actions of the conspirators.

All members of the Cabinet of Ministers are different and everyone must be assessed separately. In connection with this, we support the proposal by some members of the Supreme Soviet that a parliamentary investigation be held and we hope that that idea will be reflected in the resolution of the Supreme Soviet.

We are ready to accept any decisions of yours with understanding. We think it will be objective and just. I hope that you will discriminate which of the former members of the committee will be useful to you in the future, too. But I want to say to you on behalf of all the members that the remaining members of the Cabinet will give, in another job, their knowledge and experience to our people.

As for me personally, I did not think it necesssary to hand in my resignation. I just wanted to drink my cup to the fill. But I ask you now to consider that I am now asking to resign.

We very much want you to find the right way for a solution to the situation which has evolved, to avert the same thing happening in future.

And for God's sake, don't let our Union collapse. Thank you. (supplying inadvertently omitted material)

### Deputy Asks Medvedev To Explain Himself

*PM0409093591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 29 Aug 91 p 1*

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA Chief Editor USSR People's Deputy Valentin Logunov "Rejoinder on Roy Medvedev's Provocative Rejoinder"]

[Text] I think that we should have grown accustomed by now to the role that Deputy Roy Medvedev plays at the USSR Supreme Soviet. But his skillful maneuver yesterday once again compelled us to applaud him. The deputy read out the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers Resolution "On the USSR Cabinet of Ministers," in particular the point saying that "all officials of USSR ministries and departments are still carrying out their duties and are guided in their activity by decisions of the RSFSR Council of Ministers and the instructions of plenipotentiary members of the RSFSR Government." At this juncture he stressed that the resolution is published in ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA "today" 28 August.

Medvedev's announcement and the emphasis on "today" caused indignation in the hall.

Without going into an analysis of the resolution, let us just note the date that it was adopted—24 August. That is, two days before the USSR Supreme Soviet session began its work, when it would have been criminal to leave the USSR Cabinet of Ministers "in office."

I do not think that Roy Medvedev could have failed to notice the date but he is probably very interested in making the USSR Supreme Soviet distrust the Russian Government and, at the same time, the USSR president distrust the RSFSR president.

If the deputy simply failed to take this into consideration, he can explain his position to parliament today.

## Political & Social

### State Council Recognizes Baltic Independence

*LD0609081791 Moscow TASS in English 0810 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—The Soviet Union has officially recognised the independence of Baltic states.

The decision was taken by the country's ruling State Council at a meeting in the Kremlin today.

### Deryabin on Non-Interference in Baltics

*OW0509170291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1446 GMT 5 Sep 91*

["An exclusive interview with the USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Yuri Deryabin" by M. Mayorov and I. Porshnev from "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The newly-appointed USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Yuri Deryabin believes the Soviet Union is about to follow in the footsteps of European and other countries to recognize the independence of the Baltic republics. Speaking in what seems to have been his first interview in the capacity of the USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Deryabin told DP's reporter that the Baltic question must be handled in no way other than constitutional. He believes that after the Soviet Union recognizes these republics there must be negotiations on economic, defence and other issues.

To Deryabin, who before his new appointment was chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry's department on security and cooperation in Europe, the European aspect Soviet foreign policy is not a "terra incognita". He is certain that the European aspect will remain a priority one. Besides, he promises that "our policy will be geared to establishing wider cooperation with countries in Europe and greater openness and to fostering the Helsinki process."

**Europe's solidarity with perestroyka is the main conclusion.**

The main conclusion Deryabin derived from the dramatic events of last month and which enables him to build far-reaching plans for cooperation in Europe is that virtually all countries of the continent, both neutral ones and the members of NATO and the EC [Europeran Community] and the former allies in Central and Eastern Europe voiced their solidarity with perestroyka. Deryabin says the new relations between them that took shape recently, have stood a hard test. Deryabin says that the Soviet Union and Europe are in one boat. The new USSR Deputy Foreign Minister is aware of how complicated the situation in the Soviet Union is . "Yet, it is very unlikely that our partners at the Vienna negotiations see us as a destabilizing factor in Europe", he said.

**The principle of non-interference is not an absolute one.**

About the situation in the USSR Deryabin said that it was not enough to declare democracy, the supremacy of law and the respect for human rights as all-European standards. There must also be national and international guarantees. In that light what the USSR for a long time referred to as the "principle of non-interference" takes a totally new look. The recent events have shown that principle is not absolute truth and that human rights and the supremacy of law have a priority. "That was one of the chief factors we took into consideration when the USSR President decided to hold the CSCE Moscow conference on the humanitarian dimension as planned (on September 10 through October 4).

**CSCE must be made more effective.**

The new deputy Foreign Minister does not over-estimate the role of CSCE at this stage. He believes that a great deal is still to be done to turn the conference into an effective instrument of stability in Europe. Deryabin pointed to the current situation in Yugoslavia saying that the CSCE potential in terms of settling such conflicts are insufficient so far. It's worth giving thought to what new procedures and mechanisms could be employed to this end. The reality we have already recognized is that the main role in settling the crisis can be played by the European Communities. The people of Yugoslavia themselves count on this, too. Those were the highlights of an exclusive interview with the newly-appointed USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Yuri Deryabin.

## Gorbachev, Yeltsin TV Appearance Reviewed

*LD0609092891 Moscow TASS in English 0855 GMT 6 Sep 91*

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev together with Russia's President Boris Yeltsin today appeared in a Soviet-U.S. television link-up arranged by ABC and Soviet television.

This was the two leaders' first joint appearance before U.S. television audiences following the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, which ended here on Thursday".

In response to a question from a televiewer about a relationship between the two presidents, Mikhail Gorbachev said that they "had been cooperating for many months and the latest events provide a chance to make this cooperation reliable and lasting".

He stressed that the question was both about personal relations between the two leaders and the unification of all democratic forces.

According to Yeltsin, the August putsch has turned Gorbachev into a supporter of radical reforms.

"We are working hard closely to pull the country out of the crisis," he said.

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and Russian President Boris Yeltsin have assured the international public that Soviet nuclear arms are under tough control.

Mikhail Gorbachev said that control over nuclear weapons in the Soviet Union was stricter than in the United States. "There should be no fears in this respect," he noted.

Nuclear arms are deployed in Russia, the Ukraine and Kazakhstan, Yeltsin said. In the future, the weapons will be moved from the Ukraine and Kazakhstan to Russia, he said. There is stringent control over civilian nuclear power plants, as well as nuclear ice- breakers and submarines, Yeltsin said.

Touching upon the problem of providing the country with food, Mikhail Gorbachev said Soviet agriculture can tackle the food problem.

Speaking about foreign food supplies, he said that an inter- republican commission for the distribution of food had been set up so that foodstuffs would not become the object of sabotage or wind up in "mafiosi structures".

Touching upon the mechanism of foreign economic and other relations, the Russian president drew attention to the fact that in future the U.S. Administration is expected to determine, together with the centre, general principles for such relations while concluding specific agreements with republics.

Commenting on relations between the Soviet Union and Cuba, Yeltsin said he supports a gradual withdrawal of Soviet troops from Cuba.

Gorbachev sided with Yeltsin, saying that Soviet-Cuban relations are being reviewed in order to make them economically beneficial for both sides.

In response to a question aboug guarantees for American businessmen in the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev said that Soviet authorities were working to develop "solid legal guarantees" for foreign investors.

"The state guarantees that enterprises and property purchased legally on Soviet territory will be protected by law," Gorbachev said, explaining that the new measures will be included in the Soviet Constitution, the declaration of human rights and other laws.

Asked about anti-Semitism in the country, the Russian president said such trends would ease off. Even such an organisation as the Pamyat (Memory) is getting transformed and acts in a less radical manner, he said.

TV audiences included Soviet citizens who had at one time fled the Soviet Union for political reasons. They were interested in the question of whether they could fearlessly return to the native country.

Referring to the recent Moscow Congress of Compatriots who had left the country for different reasons and in different periods, Yeltsin assured televiewers that such persons may return and that there will be no persecution on the part of the KGB which is now being reformed.

Speaking about state security agencies, he added that the KGB archives are now sealed and will be preserved in the interest of science and the truth.

Despite radical political changes, the Soviet Union is likely to field a single team for the forthcoming 1992 Olympic games, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev told TV viewers. Russia does not plan to field its own team and its athletes will perform under a single flag with sportsmen from other republics, Russian President Boris Yeltsin said.

Answering a question about political prisoners in the Soviet Union, the Soviet president said that "people should not be persecuted for dissent, for their political convictions." He said there were several convicts serving terms "on mixed charges". "Judicial authorities are reviewing cases involving political and criminal charges," he said.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin promised to release all people imprisoned for their convictions. "There are 21 such prisoners," he said. "It is necessary to restore justice as quickly as possible," Yeltsin said.

Yeltsin expressed readiness to help in handing over the remains of the passengers of the South Korean KAL airliner, which had been shot down by Soviet air defence gunners in the far east in the autumn of 1983, to the victims' relatives and the next-of-kin.

A televiewer asked about the two presidents' attitude to " religion. Gorbachev said he is a non-believer but respects the sentiments of believers. Yeltsin said he attends services in Orthodox churches. The president of Russia admitted that he is not without such a quality as being superstitious.

### Gorbachev Denies Hiring Ban on Party Officials

*LD0509130391 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] President Gorbachev has dismissed as a lie the rumors that he has allegedly given secret instructions to government offices to refrain from employing former party functionaries and Communists. It's expected that about 150,000 career party workers will lose their jobs as a result of the suspension of Communist party activity pending the establishment of the party's involvement in the attempted coup and the removal of party activity from the workplace. Yet in Moscow and a number of other cities, labor exchanges are taking care of their employment and some staff members of the former apparatus of the party's Central Committee have already been offered jobs.

### Gorbachev Dismisses Deputy KGB Chief Denisov

*LD0609110591 Moscow TASS in English 1058 GMT 6 Sep 91*

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev dismissed Deputy KGB Chief Major General Aleksey Denisov, issuing a special decree today.

### Appoints New Deputy Interior Minister

*LD0509112491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1041 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] Moscow, 5 Sep (TASS)—By decree of USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev, Yerin, Lieutenant-General of the Militia, has been appointed USSR first deputy minister of internal affairs. Colonel-General Boris Gromov has been released from this post in connection with his transfer to another job.

In another presidential decree, Viktor Barannikov, Lieutenant-General of the Internal Service, has had the military title of Colonel-General conferred upon him. In accordance with yet another decree, Lieutenant-General Iokubas Petrovas has been released from the post of deputy chairman of the USSR State Security Committee.

### Bakatin Opens Security Service Conference

*LD0509212791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1724 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Excerpts] [no dateline as received] As we know, on 28 August 1991 the USSR president issued a decree setting up a state commission to investigate the activities of state security organs during the putsch. It will report on the role of state security organs in the anticonstitutional coup and make proposals on the restructuring of state security bodies and essential changes in legislation regulating the activities of these bodies.

A conference of representatives of sovereign republics held at the USSR KGB in Moscow on 5 September discussed coordination of the activities of organs and services of national security during the transitional period. The conference was convened at the initiative of the State Commission and was fully supported by V. Bakatin, the chairman of the KGB. It was attended by chairmen of parliamentary committees on defense, chairmen and deputy chairmen of republican state security committees, members of the State Commission, and the leadership of the USSR KGB, headed by V. Bakatin. All the Union republics—both those that belong to the USSR now and those that used to belong to it, with the exception of Georgia—were represented.

This is the first time such a representative conference has been held since the events of 19-21 August, which prevented the signing of the Union treaty. A new geopolitical reality now exists. The USSR no longer exists in its previous form. Many republics have announced their full sovereignty and withdrawal from the USSR. The functions, structure, role, and place of state security bodies in the life of the country have to change under these new conditions. However, the need for these organs to exist as such can hardly be called into question.

USSR KGB Chairman V. Bakatin, who opened the conference, made it clear that state security bodies would no longer carry out political surveillance and the struggle against dissidence (the corresponding subdivisions have been dissolved—TASS). He said that the committee had ceased to be heir to the worst traditions of the Cheka, the NKVD, the MGB, and the KGB. Evidently some thought will have to be given to changing the organization's name, since too many negative things are associated with the current abbreviation. Bakatin also said that the search for the guilty should not be expanded any further. This might turn it into a "witch hunt." Responsibility for criminal actions committed during the putsch should only be borne by its leaders. The search for culprits should not include those who were only obeying orders.

One of the principal tasks facing the KGB, the chairman said, is the radical restructuring of the organs, while ensuring that they keep all the manpower and resources they need to carry out tasks whose importance are not in doubt: intelligence, counter-intelligence, and the struggle against terrorism and especially dangerous crimes. In this respect much has already been done. The special forces (three divisions and one corps—TASS) have been handed over to the Army. Border troops have been removed from the KGB's jurisdiction. The guard service has been placed directly within the jurisdiction of the USSR president. It has been decided to establish a state committee for government communications. The USSR

KGB's relationship with the republics is undergoing fundamental change. According to Bakatin, the center will no longer dominate the republics. Instead it will exist for them. This declaration was greeted with profound satisfaction by the representatives of the republics since recent relations between many republican committees and the center can be described as strained.

RSFSR People's Deputy Stepashin, chairman of the State Commission, sounded a warning about the negative experience of countries that belonged to the former socialist camp. Special services have been completely scrapped in some of them. This has, unquestionably, been detrimental to the security of those countries. Such a tendency is also apparent in our country. For instance the republican committee has been abolished in Latvia. There is much concern about the future of the personnel, who include many honest and conscientious staff. Bakatin assured that the USSR KGB would not abandon a single honest employee if the republic's leadership was not able to provide the dismissed staff with the means to survive.

The documents of the just concluded Congress of USSR People's Deputies reflect a new reality: The republics have become sovereign. The same applies to the organs. This has created numerous problems, including ones for the organs, since the system of state security was for decades highly centralized. Everything was decided by the center. If these ties are immediately severed, it will affect the security of everybody without exception: both the republics and the center. It will be difficult for the republics to organize proper training for their staffs and to provide them with equipment and money. The center must remain, but with a different role—most likely, that of coordination. The center must serve the republics and not dominate them, although some functions—foreign intelligence, which cannot be broken up—will remain completely centralized. [passage omitted]

The speech by V. Ivanenko, chairman of the RSFSR KGB, was received with great attention. Until now the RSFSR's security bodies had been going through a protracted phase of formation. They lacked manpower, resources, and cadres. Now the situation has completely changed. The USSR KGB chairman has signed an order transfering the directorates in the former autonomous republics, krays, and oblasts, together with their manpower, buildings, equipment, and documentation, into the jurisdiction of the RSFSR KGB. A part of the central security establishment, corresponding to its structure, has also been transferred to the RSFSR KGB.

At the conference it was deemed necessary to establish a federal collegium for the USSR KGB, comprising representatives of all the republics—even those that have withdrawn from the USSR. This will be a consultative and coordination body, which will keep the republics fully informed about the activities of the USSR KGB.

## Kalugin, Karbainov on KGB's Coup Actions

*91UF1115A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 34, Aug 91 p 5*

[Interviews with former KGB general O. Kalugin by an unidentified correspondent, and with Major General A. Karbainov, chief of the KGB Center for Public Liaison, by ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent P. Lukyanchenko; place and date not given, published in the column "Comments by Specialists"]

[Text] "Ninjas" From the KGB [subhead]

[Correspondent] On the night of the storm, suppositions were voiced that KGB commandos resembling Ninjas would come out of the woodwork and that an OMON [Special Missions Militia Detachment] team would make a corridor in the crowd through which between 20 and 30 people would pass. Among them would be two or three people wearing heavy armor and high on drugs whose task it would be to force their way into the building first and to open fire from assault rifles. Under the cover they would provide, the entire group would move toward its final target, the president of Russia.

[Kalugin] I believe an element of fantasy is built into this. I do not know how it actually went, but theoretically it could have happened the following way: Groups of this special missions detachment could have penetrated the building using their agents inside "the White House" (there probably are agents among the guards too) and started a fire fight inside the building at the appropriate hour. Shooting would have started simultaneously both inside and outside, which would have brought about complete disarray because nobody would have understood what was happening. The crowd would have been entirely at a loss. At that point a tank could have been sent to support those who were inside, which would have crushed the ground-floor segment of the building, and the Alfa group would have forced its way in. The elimination of all resistance would have proceeded after that.

[Correspondent] How is the Alfa group armed?

[Kalugin] They are armed with regular firearms, except that they are smaller. They also have camouflaged weapons and special equipment which disables people. Both bullets and chemical agents could have been used.

[Correspondent] It was said there was some radiological weapon.

[Kalugin] Radiological weapons would have hardly been used because they are dangerous to both sides.

[Correspondent] Concerning what was announced after 0200, that at night the defenders did not let groups of athletic-looking young people carrying bags through to the building...

[Kalugin] This is quite possible, but they were late. I was in the building from the morning of the 19th. One could enter the building freely because there was a certain amount of confusion and lack of understanding of what had happened. There were no reinforced internal details. However, as early as one day later it was useless to launch an assault. I inspected the posts. Now we may even joke: If the party embarks on an endeavor, it will make any endeavor fail.

### Something About the Failure of "Chuk and Gek"

**Our correspondent P. Lukyanchenko talked to Major General A. Karbainov, chief of the USSR KGB Center for Public Liaison.**

[Lukyanchenko] You should have been allowed easy access to former KGB chief V. Kryuchkov in your capacity as chief of the USSR KGB Center for Public Liaison.

[Karbainov] I would not say that I was allowed easy access. I am not saying this for opportunistic reasons. As a rule, Kryuchkov communicated with me through his aides.

[Lukyanchenko] We have learned from KGB employees that A. Lukyanov was the author of the infamous declaration of "the eight."

[Karbainov] It is absolutely obvious that this declaration was put together well, and that it was not written in a few hours or even days. It was written by an intelligent person. Who wrote it? An investigation will tell.

[Lukyanchenko] Will the KGB agents (women carrying bags and men wearing gray jackets) who incited the soldiers to start firing on "the White House," and incited its defenders to leave while still in one piece, be punished?

[Karbainov] I tell you very frankly: I have not heard anything about it. As far as I know, the KGB pool of agents is simply not suited for such purposes.

[Lukyanchenko] It is known that after the end of the putsch, many KGB employees filed requests to quit. Some obscenely curse the former chairman, while others are afraid of reprisals by the crowd.

[Karbainov] Indeed, on Thursday, 22 August, the glass door of the Center for Public Liaison was broken by picketers, and we had to close it. They painted a swastika on Yu. Andropov's memorial plaque. Demonstrators chanted: "Fascists! Fascists!" It is easy to understand them: They think the KGB was behind all of the events.

However, first, by far not the entire KGB supported the plotters from the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency], or "Chuk and Gek," as we have named them here. In particular, many territorial administrations obeyed the instructions from Russian KGB Chairman Ivanenko to strictly obey the ukases of the president of Russia. Second, mistrust toward the KGB leadership is being voiced in Chekist collectives. An official investigation will show who is who. However, regardless of the investigation, I believe that the leaders who supported the SCSE due to their personal convictions should resign on their own.

## Gordiyevskiy's Wife To Leave For UK

*LD0609085191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0831 GMT 6 Sep 91*

[By TASS Diplomatic Correspondents Konstantin Voytsekhovich and Andrey Pershin]

[Excerpt] Journalists have learned that Leyla Gordiyevskaya—wife of former KGB officer Oleg Gordiyevskiy—will take a Moscow- London British Airways flight today; she will be accompanied by two daughters. Since Gordiyevskiy fled to Great Britain in 1985, Soviet state security bodies have refused her permission to leave the country. Leyla Gordiyevskaya officially divorced her husband soon after his defection, perhaps, under pressure from the KGB. [passage omitted]

## Pankin on Effects of Putsch, New Union

*AU0509121691 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 5 Sep 91 p 3*

[Interview with Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin by Vladimir Markov; place and date not given: "We Have To Ask Our Neighbors for Advice From Time to Time"]

[Text] [Markov] Mr. Foreign Minister, the Moscow coup failed, the process of democratization is developing very dynamically in the country, even though not without resistance. What effect may this have on Soviet foreign policy and its priorities?

[Pankin] The coup was a misfortune and a tragedy for our country. However, as one says: Every cloud has a silver lining. As a result of the failed putsch, big events are maturing, which also touches upon foreign policy. Now we are able to free ourselves from those ties that bothered us—regardless of all explanations about "new viewpoints," "liberation," etc. And among the putschists there were the heads of those bodies that put obstacles in the way of many issues.

[Markov] But these problems are not new.

[Pankin] I knew this in the past, too. However, now, since I have a new post, I have become even more aware of this problem. The people who carried out the unconstitutional putsch delayed our policy in a "constitutional" way by, for instance, calling for endless votes, suspension of decisions, and discussions. As a result the obvious matters that would not brook any delay often could not move on.

[Markov] What about the planned CSCE human rights meeting in Moscow?

[Pankin] The conference is to start on 10 September. In the past the forces that were represented by the putschists deprived us of the possibility to hold such a forum in our country. However, when we did get the opportunity, the same forces tried to turn this conference into a purely formal event.

The putsch also endangered the holding of this CSCE meeting, not to mention its other potentially terrible consequences. At the proposal of the Foreign Ministry President Mikhail Gorbachev agreed to hold the conference as planned.

[Markov] What is the objective of this meeting?

[Pankin] The urgency of the problems is becoming more obvious now in our country—because we have, as it is said now, won on the barricades and defended freedom, justice, and human rights. Now it is necessary to underpin all this juridically and organizationally in terms of international law. The mechanisms of the protection and safeguarding of human rights have to be perfected.

It is clear: The principle of noninterference in internal affairs of other states, which we have always observed and which has sometimes been used here to stall matters so as not to permit democratic changes in our own country, must not be a purpose in itself.

[Markov] Which specific proposals do you plan to make?

[Pankin] If we want to build the all-European home, we have to ask our neighbors for advice from time to time, invite them to help us in solving our conflicts, and offer them the same in return.

Therefore, we are for presenting and implementing a number of new ideas in this respect. We support the establishment of a system of observers or rapporteurs, who can be sent to any country at the proposal of other states. The CSCE observers, who respect the laws of every country, would also assess a given conflict as a matter of record.

[Markov] What will happen to the so far common foreign policy of the Soviet Union, in your view?

[Pankin] In my view, the course of the Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow shows that it may be possible to preserve the union on a new basis.

Despite differences and discords in the relationships among the republics or between individual republics and the Moscow center and also among the republics themselves, the republics have common interests in the fields of defense, foreign policy, and economy. The republics' relations with the center can be made very flexible; strategic key issues of their policy must and should continue to be coordinated in the future, too.

[Markov] What does this mean for your ministry?

[Pankin] Responsibility for global problems in this field will remain with the central Foreign Ministry also in the future. In contrast, the republics or states will deal with a number of issues concerning bilateral relations. Be it a confederation, association, community, or whatever: The historically developed close relations in our country will continue to be preserved.

[Markov] What do you now expect from the Western world with regard to economic aid to Moscow under the current complicated conditions in the USSR?

[Pankin] In the talks with John Major, the British head of government and coordinator of the seven leading Western industrial nations, which took place in Moscow last Sunday [1 September] we examined, above all, two dimensions of economic cooperation. On the one hand, there are urgent measures: deliveries of foodstuffs, pharmaceuticals, consumer goods, and other humanitarian aid, also on the basis of short-term loans. It is necessary to improve the tense situation in the country that is due to the scarcity of goods. This should encourage the people more and would have a positive effect on their reconstruction work.

On the other hand, we are also interested in large-scale projects that might help us. These also include loans.

[Markov] With regard to major help, the West is still adopting a very temporizing position, following the slogan: "First reforms, then money."

[Pankin] Mikhail Gorbachev assured John Major that now there cannot be any factors braking the radicalization of our reform projects anymore. Everything that our president agreed on with the seven heads of state and government in London will be implemented in our country without any hindrance. Therefore, I think that the West need not stick to its temporizing position any longer in this respect.

[Markov] How important do you think is the relationship with the united Germany in the network of Moscow's relations with other states?

[Pankin] We are particularly interested in having Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher pay a working visit to Moscow in connection with the CSCE conference.

Germany has always played an extraordinary role for our country. This applies all the more to the current period, because Germany is the leader with regard to political support for us. However, in economic terms, too, Germany remains one of our most promising partners.

[Markov] Are relations really so excellent?

[Pankin] There are still problems with the stay and the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from eastern Germany. From my own experience in the CSFR I know all too well how important it is for both sides to solve these problems, even though in the CSFR there were far fewer Soviet soldiers than in Germany.

This is precisely why we need very close cooperation and more mutual understanding.

### Pankin 'Likely' To Lead UN Assembly Delegation

*OW0509170491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1446 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The USSR Foreign Minister Boris Pankin is likely to lead the Soviet delegation at the 46th session of the UN General Assembly. His arrival in New York is expected no later than September 21. On September 24 he will speak at the UN session.

This time two republican foreign ministers will be invited into delegation, in contrast to the previous practice of inviting only one. For the time being it is unclear what republics will be represented at the foreign minister level. The presidential instructions concerning the make-up of the delegation are expected no earlier than Monday. What makes the situation still more serious is that for the participation of this or that republic in the UN General Assembly session there must be the consent of its leaders.

### Silayev Comments on Economic Union

*LD0609084691 Moscow TASS in English 0831 GMT 6 Sep 91*

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—"Our committee basing on the experience of joint work by representatives of all sovereign republics, supports proposals to sign an economic union and form an inter-republican economic committee on a parity basis, outlined in the statement by the Soviet president and leaders of ten republics," Russian Prime Minister Ivan Silayev said in an interview with PRAVDA, published today.

Silayev also heads a committee for day-to-day running the Soviet economy during the transitional period, formed by the Soviet president's decree after the Union Government's resignation.

"Over the days of our work, we have not argued on political issues," Silayev said. "The main conclusion drawn from the committee's experience, is that republican economic structures can work together without looking back at the centre and without its diktat. Republics have good will and economic interests in working together, and this means that a new union of our peoples will live."

According to Silayev, a new form of interaction is being born. Republics are taking all responsibility before their citizens for their economic policy and realise it with the help of other republics on mutually profitable terms.

Under current conditions, the framework of the economic union should not be limited by seven, nine or even 15 sovereign states, Silayev believes. "We should not exclude the possibility of Bulgaria, Poland or Czechoslovakia joining it," he said.

"The sooner an inter-republican economic committee is formed, the better. The logic of domestic processes and outside circumstances induce us towards this. The West needs a reliable partner trusted by all republics. I believe the union president should be the main coordinator of such interaction," Silayev said.

### Zhirinovskiy Vows Victory in Coming Election

*LD0609101191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Excerpts] TASS, RIA [RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY], INTERFAX and other news services have reported the reaction of various politicians to the work of the congress and its decisions. Thanks to RIA we have received extracts from some of these interviews. At the end of the fifth extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies RIA correspondents asked several well-known politicians what they thought of it. [passage omitted] Here, in particular, is what Zhirinovskiy said. According to INTERFAX, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, the leader of the USSR Liberal Democratic Party, who was one of the candidates who ran for the postion of RSFSR president, asked the BALTFAX correspondent to inform Landsbergis, Gorbunovs, and Ruutel that he was very displeased with them. Tell them that, when I become president of the confederation next spring, they will have to pack their bags. I shall establish a Baltic province. I will have a governor in Riga who will rule Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, Zhirinovskiy said. He [words indistinct] talking non-stop to journalists and deputies in the foyer, promised that, if elections are held next spring for the president of the new state entity which takes the place of the USSR, he would definitely win. [passage indistinct]

### Andreyeva Calls Coup Attempt 'Operetta'

*LD0609055291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] One might say that Nina Aleksandrovna Andreyeva has become a spiritual leader for those who today are loyal to Leninism and want to defend communist ideals. Supporters of the Bolshevik platform led by the formerly unknown chemistry teacher have expelled Mikhail Gorbachev from the CPSU ranks. He is expelled, and I quote, for betrayal of the cause of Lenin and the October Revolution, for betrayal of the international workers' and communist movement, for disintegration of the socialist power, for destruction of Lenin's party, for being a renegade, for double-dealing, for deceiving the workers, and for demagogy.

Doesn't this sound like a sentence from the past? This decision was adopted several days after the coup attempt.

[Begin Andreyeva recording] Was this a putsch? Looking at it, we are completely justified in saying that there was no putsch at all. This was an operetta coup. I would put it this way: In my view, the script was written abroad, the director was Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev—and I think not without the participation of Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin—the characters and the cast were this emergency committee—the eight—and the democrats. The result of this operetta coup and the script which is being enacted on our country's territory is a tragedy of the 300 million people. Today, observing what is happening in our country, at these sessions of the extraordinary congress, we see that attempts are being made to constitutionally finish off all that remains of socialism. In other words, we are talking about a coup d'etat that is obscured by constitutional actions, or which they attempt to accomplish constitutionally. [end recording]

The country has its own heroes and antiheroes. Those who were on the barricades trying to stop the tanks and armored carriers with their own bodies in order to protect freedom and democracy from dictatorship cannot be cast as operetta characters.

## Lukyanov's, Plekhanov's Lawyers Interviewed

*PM0609113591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Sep 91 Union Edition p 8*

[Report by V. Rudnev incorporating interviews with Lukyanov's defense counsel Genrikh Pavda and Plekhanov's defense counsel Genri Reznik, carried under the rubric "The Three Days of the Putsch. IZVESTIYA Investigation"; date, place of interviews not specified: "The Case of the State Committee for the State of Emergency: Lawyers Getting Down To Work""]

[Text] Thus far our information on the progress of the investigation of the case of the State Committee for the State of the Emergency [SCSE] was based on reports from prosecution and investigation officals. But the defense lawyers have already started on the case. We will therefore give them a forum too. Genrikh Padva, A. Lukyanov's lawyer, speaks.

[Pavda] I undertook Anatoliy Ivanovich's defense together with lawyer Aleksandr Gofshteyn. On 2 September we met with Lukyanov at Investigation Center No. 4. He confirmed to me his position regarding the actions of the SCSE previously expressed in the country's parliament. I have no grounds not to believe him. I undertook to defend Lukyanov, after all, because I have strong doubts about his involvement in the conspiracy.

[Rudnev] You recently publicly condemned the activity of the SCSE. But now you have undertaken to defend one of the conspirators...

[Pavda] I expressed my attitude toward those who signed the SCSE's anticonstitutional orders and committed specific actions to isolate the president. On 19 August I was in New York and as vice president of the International Union of Lawyers I sent dozens of telegrams to the national unions of various countries protesting the SCSE's seizure of power. That is why I would not today undertake the defense of Yazov, Kryuchkov, Tizyakov, Baklanov, or the other plotters. But Lukyanov is a different matter...

[Rudnev] You really see no sedition in his actions.

[Padva] It is not a question of sedition. I, for example, like many, was unhappy with the way Lukyanov chose to run the country's parliament. At the same time he recently won first prize as the best speaker of parliament in Europe. As you can see, a completely different assessment. Or certain speeches by Lukyanov are not to my liking, I do not share certain of his convictions. So what? I am certain that it is necessary to talk only about the specific actions which the law defines as criminal. And what did Lukyanov do? He was passive? Perhaps... He did not take every measure to stop the putsch? That has to be proven... Remember Yeltsin's words that in discussion with him Lukyanov dissociated himself from the putschists. So where, then, here is the corpus delicti? [Pavda interview ends]

The opinion of Genri Reznik, defense counsel for Yu. Plekhanov.

[Reznik] I will start with a protest. TASS and then your newspaper have publicized the RSFSR general prosecutor's opinion on the conduct of those under arrest. He said: "Everyone of them in his testimony trys to talk frankly about the actions of his comrades while doing everything to 'gloss over' his own role in the putsch." As defense counsel for one of the arrestees I consider this statement by Valentin Stepankov intolerable. To allow himself at the very start of the investigation to make a public assessment of the trustworthiness of the testimony of the suspects means disregarding both the presumption of innocence and the right of defense.

The obvious has to be recalled here: Only a court can recognize facts as proven and determine what is the truth and what is a lie. Pending its verdict all persons against whom criminal proceedings have been instituted are regarded as innocent. They are entitled to choose any line of defense and under the law they can in no way be reproached for this.

[Rudnev] It seems to me that you are being overcategorical. After all, the Russian general prosecutor did not assess the trustworthiness of the people under arrest in his public statement, but merely spoke about their emotional state...

[Reznik] The general prosecutor can, of course, form an opinion on the case, but the law of procedure obliges him to keep this opinion to himself until the confirmation of the indictment. Stepankov's words are perceived in this situation as psychological pressure upon the arrestees—the investigation does not believe you: You are just trying to talk frankly about your comrades' actions and to "gloss over" your own role altogether.

[Rudnev] And, incidentally, your opinion on Plekhanov's conduct.

[Reznik] I think he is sincere. He is concerned about the fate of his subordinates. He is raising no objections to the investigation. I am pleased with my first contacts with the investigators. They are calm and intelligent people.

### Radio Reports on Individual Rights Declaration

*LD0609005391 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 2230 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] For the first time in the history of the Soviet state, an extraordinary USSR Congress of People's Deputies session has adopted a declaration of rights and freedoms of an individual. It summarizes all rights and freedoms of our citizens that we consider important for our entire country, irrespective of nationality, place of residence, sex, language, or profession. No interests of a group, party, or state can be placed above the interests of an individual, the document stresses. The declaration guarantees the equality of all citizens of the country, their right to freedom of speech, conscience, and religion; their right to unite into political parties, trade unions, and public organizations; and their right to elect and to be elected to bodies of power.

Guaranteed are the inviolability of an individual, a dwelling, the right to privacy of correspondence, except in cases envisaged by the law, as well as the right to free education in the state educational establishments and free medical service in the state public health institutions.

The declaration states that every individual has the right to work and to use the results of his work, the right to choose employment and reject it, the right to the minimum wage guaranteed by the state, and the right to protection against unemployment. Aside from this, the right to social protection is guaranteed, as well as the right to rest, and social provisions in old age, in case of illness, or in case of inability to work. All rights and freedoms set out in the declaration are to be protected by the law.

### Poll Poses Questions on Aid, Politics, Strikes

*OW0609081391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0723 GMT 6 Sep 91*

["Viewpoint" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text]

#### SHOULD WE ACCEPT WESTERN HELP?

In July, 1991, the National Public Opinion Studies Centre (VCIOM) conducted a Union-wide poll of 3,003 respondents. According to the "Data" agency, the respondents were asked whether fundamental economic perestroyka was possible in the USSR without substantial aid from developed capitalist countries.

The poll showed that 39 percent of those questioned said that aid from capitalist countries was essential.

The same proportion said that we should try to overcome our economic problems, relying on our own strengths and drawing on our own reserves.

8 percent categorically opposed help from the West.

14 percent did not give a definite answer.

Margin of error—3 percent.

#### INTERNAL POLITICS—WITHOUT REFERENCE TO THE WEST?

One of the questions in a poll conducted by VCIOM between 9th and 19th August concerned the influence of the West on Soviet internal politics. The survey indicates that four out of ten respondents think internal politics should not be molded to take account of Western reaction.

38 percent held the opposite opinion.

22 percent did not give a definite answer.

Margin of error—3 percent.

#### NEW STRIKES AHEAD?

Another question in the same poll was: "How likely is there to be an upsurge in the strike movement?"

43 percent said unlikely.

35 percent said perfectly possible.

22 found it hard to say.

### Opinion Poll Shows Popular Support For Yeltsin

*LD0609054691 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1600 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] The socioeconomic research center [name indistinct] carried out a opinion poll for IZVESTIYA on 3 September: 1,236 people representing the adult urban population of the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Belorussia, and Uzbekistan were polled.

Answering the first question—how do you assess the joint statement of Gorbachev and the leaders of 10 republics at the congress—33 percent of those polled said they did not know about the statement, 48 percent approved of the document, 8 percent disapproved, and the rest had not determined their view.

Here is the list of political figures who enjoy the most popularity: Yeltsin is in first place, as 45,5 percent of those polled named him; 19 percent named Gorbachev, 13 percent named Sobchak. Bakatain and Yakovlev are considered the most popular figures by 3 percent of those polled, while 2 percent consider Shevardnadze, Nazarbayev, and Rutskoy to be popular figures.

## TRUD Observer on Coup, Reason for Failure

*914B0354C Moscow TRUD in Russian*
*28 Aug 91 p 2*

[Article by TRUD political observer Yu. Lenskiy: "The Political Barometer: It Is Clearing Up"]

[Text] Do you know, reader, which word has been used most in the press and on radio and television during the past half year? Do you think it is "perestroyka" or "glasnost?" No. The word is—"Somebody." Well, of course, it is possible to use it in various oblique cases: for example, "to somebody." Or versions in which the particle is changed: for example, "to some person." All you would have to do would be open some publication—from OGONEK to MOLODAYA GVARDIYA to immediately read something like this: "Apparently it is to someone's advantage for the process of democratization to be gradually turned back..." (well, that is most likely in OGONEK). Or: "Someone wants very much for the so-called democratization to reach its logical conclusion—capitalism" (and this, undoubtedly, is in MOLODAYA GVARDIYA).

Having read something like this, I was prepared to understand everything except—who is this "Somebody?" That ominous merchant figure who emptied the shelves of our stores, who rotted the unique crop, who impeded conversion and privatization with all his might, who whispers orders to the Riga and Vilnius OMON [Special Purpose Military Detachment], who slipped unrecognized behind the curtain of the USSR political stage. The public rallied together, understanding that the unknown could show up at any minute, wherever he liked...

If this inept putsch had not taken three young lives I would have the right to assert that it was necessary, like a storm on a hot and muggy day. Because after it, like after a storm, the sun came out and everything cleared up.

Well, in the first place, it became clear who this mysterious "Somebody" was. "He" appeared in the concrete faces of these eight who decided to teach the Soviet people a lesson. It became clear to the Afghan vets, just as it did at the front, who is the enemy and who is the friend, and what to do. This is possibly why there were so many at the barricades during the night between the 19th and 20th and afterwards.

Now it is clear why these dinosaurs began the putsch. They said they did not want to sign the Union treaty, that the process of democratization, in their opinion, had gone too far. All that is true, but when you find out who was the real organizer of this disgrace—the leaders of the military and industrial complex and the nomenklatura of the CPSU Central Committee—you understand that all this certainly did not begin on 19 August 1991—it began much earlier. I think it all really began last fall when President Gorbachev met with the leaders of the Soviet military-industrial complex. It was probably then that he clearly recognized for himself that the core of the system against which he had raised his hand was the military-industrial complex, that they were stronger than he, and that they were prepared to do battle and destroy him. And then he began to retreat, trying to win time to regroup forces—to strengthen the presidential structures at the expense of the authority of the CPSU. The stages of the retreat were also known: the appointments of Pavlov, Pugo, Yanayev, Kravchenko... They started the putsch because the process had made its way to the main things—to their property and their power. The nomenklatura has no greater values than these and never has had. All their discussions about the socialist option, about the communist ideal are no less harmful than the songs of Okudzhava performed by Kryuchkov.

It became clear why they lost. In the first place, because they have not won anything in recent years. And here again they were operating at the limit of their intellectual and physical capacities. Just as in preceding years they led the harvest campaigns, fought against crime, and made the quality of consumer goods deteriorate sharply.

Well, of course, it is not just a matter of their natural talent to fail at everything they themselves have planned. The Brezhnev coup of 1964 was possible because, among other things, there were no democratic institutions existing in the country. The Supreme Soviet was merely a decoration for a concealed and powerful authority structure—the CPSU. Nor was there any real legislation to control the processes of the transfer of power. The brothers in this latest putsch touchingly referred to a number of laws, beginning with the Constitution. That was gratifying anyway.

But the main thing is that Yanayev's combatants encountered a qualitatively different people. Four years after the quiet removal of Khrushchev, when the Soviet troops entered Prague, seven people went out into Red Square to protest. This August, when those same tanks entered Moscow, there were enough people out on the streets and in the squares. Enough people to save the country. The difference between the hundreds of thousands and those seven is approximately equal to the amount of the growth during these years of our hatred for the party-bureaucratic regime, our weariness with the eternal lies, our resolve to put an end to all this, and, finally, our fearlessness.

And to return to the tanks and the people on the square. It became clear that, whether we like it or not, everything in life has to be paid for in full measure, there will be punishment for everything. The tanks in Prague with the tanks in Moscow. The seizure of the television center in Vilnius—with the OMON in Ostankino, the president's concessions to the right—with the appearance of the SCSE... What other punishments await us for Karabakh and for Tbilisi...

It also became clear, incidentally, that we also have reason to respect ourselves. It turned out that we can do more than just talk. It became clear that, without any instructions or commands, we can build barricades that meet international standards of quality, that we can stop tanks and armored personnel carriers—in a word, we can stand up for ourselves. It became clear to the country that Muscovites are pretty good guys in spite of the fact that from time to time on the shelves of our stores one can find smoked sausage, butter, and meat with a lot of bones for seven rubles. It turns out that the Muscovites did not sell their souls for any of these things.

True, something else also became clear: While we are celebrating our victory, the losers could be regrouping. We are too fond of celebrating victories. Here we are all ready to award Yeltsin the Star of the Hero. I am not saying that Boris Nikolayevich does not deserve this award. I am talking about the euphoria of those who offered it to him. But the Russian president is a clever person and he has not lost the qualities of a real hero; he declined the Star and asked forgiveness of the mothers of the heroes who died at the barricades. We should not rejoice over this victory, we should not forget that the social milieu that generated the putschists cannot be sealed off, and it is impossible with an ukase to prohibit the nomenklatura from staying alive and restructuring itself much more rapidly than we could have imagined...

During all the days of the putsch in Moscow the weather was appropriate—there was a cold, unpleasant rain. But right after dinner on Wednesday the sun came out. It cleared up.

## Commentators Calls for 'Mercy,' 'Civility'

*914B0354D Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Aug 91 p 1*

[Article by Aleksandr Afanasyev: "On the Current Moment: Freedom Does Not Exist on Bloodshed"]

[Text] What happened last week?

It seems to me that the Aurora fired in order to try, as always, to push the weary people to the edge but instead it hit the people. In general, it is not difficult to discover the main reason for the failure of the August usurpers, like that of the January "professors" from the KPL [Communist Party of Lithuania] (they called themselves "professors" and not comrades any more). The reason is simple: They were doctrinaire. Having read too many prefaces to the classics, they decided: The lower levels are absolutely unwilling and the upper levels are completely unable; the authorities are wandering in the road, just like a streetwalker, and the "revolutionary situation" has swollen to such an extent that all you have to do is frighten the country with tanks and the "loud mouths" will fall down of their own accord, just like overripe fruit.

The coup failed without carrying its own weight; it barely met the first resistance of the fragile human chain. M. Gorbachev was right: After six years of freedom it is impossible to squeeze the people into the children's trousers that were made for them at one time by Comrade Stalin. But if we limit ourselves merely to articulating this proud thought, if all we do is experience the euphoria of the victory, we will not have a very good understanding of the events that have taken place and still are taking place.

Before the coup, if we are to believe the SES [sanitary and epidemiological service] and our own eyes, the rats had gone out into the streets, at least in two cities of the country: Moscow and Baku. Rats on the street during the day is a bad sign: The people have to be so helpless, and power and reason have to have abandoned us to such an extent that even these sullen underground animals dare to do this. No, we must not turn away from the obvious: We are the ones who, through our actions and inaction, allowed the rats to run free. Freedom for rats? Yes, there is even freedom for rats. Crime and inflation get out of hand, the country falls apart, the standard of living drops, hunger sets in, and civil war threatens.

We are not likely to remain free unless we find a way of keeping the shadow institutions in check. We will lose our freedom—in one way or another—unless we break and stop this free fall into chaos. We will be unworthy of this freedom if we confuse it with the possibility of victoriously writing obscenities on monuments and triumphantly pissing on the doors of the KGB.

Yes, both the KGB and the tyrants to whom the monuments are dedicated deserve all this. But is it worthwhile to deal with our own city and country as if it were someone else's city and someone else's country and they were turned over to the mercy of the victors for three days?

It was observed long ago that when groups undertake to repeat wisdom too zealously this wisdom is frequently transformed into nonsense. Examples? We were not the ones who said: Everything is permitted that is not prohibited. That was said by the Romans. But when we look at it—by following this lofty wisdom are we not in many cases slipping down to the biological level?

Of course we shall not forget this truly historic week. We shall not forget the victims and the heroes. We shall not forget the shockwaves on the morning of the 19th. We shall not forget the unifying joy when the piece about B. Yeltsin on the tank surrounded by barricades by some miracle found its way onto the "Vremya" program in the evening. When on the 21st we heard the assurances and the calm voice of R. Khasbulatov. When the saga of the aircraft to Foros began. When the USSR president, apparently not yet fully aware of the gravity of what had happened, gave his first interview at the plane's exit.

But there is something else we are not likely to forget. His dark, pinched face in another meeting. And the thought when seeing him confused and exhausted: Did he have to jump out of the frying pan into the fire? Whom was he with? The winners? What is he? A victim? A hero saved by a miracle? By the end of the week his real status became clear. From a "legally elected president" he had increasingly been transformed into the spoils, a military trophy, a challenge prize. If you will, into a trump card with which necessary and, undoubtedly, long-overdue decisions were made.

Of course, it is time we got used to it: Politics loves the strong, it is a cruel occupation—losers and blunderers are beaten down, and sometimes people simply wipe their feet on them. But, perhaps, when people beat them and wipe their feet on them—we might not need to see this, at least not on television. For it is not just about the person. (Although it is about him, too; he did a great deal, and it was not all ill-considered and bad.) It is an indignity to the state and to ourselves when we deal with the leader of our own state as with a naughty schoolboy or a petty hooligan.

This has to do with mercy, with magnanimity. Culture. Being civilized, about which we talk so much.

When in 1957 after the notorious "antiparty conspiracy" Kaganovich telephoned Khrushchev and asked: "Nikita, what are you going to do with us now?"—Nikita Sergeyevich, out of the purity of his heart, told him to stick it in his ear.

At this moment the country's history took a second (after the 20th congress) step away from the toilet of totalitarianism. On that day, in my opinion, a new age began: The conspirators were dispersed but they were not executed. Who knows whether the country would have skipped over October of 1964 more or less painlessly and whether N. Khrushchev would have lived to old age if seven years earlier he had not abandoned our native custom of demanding an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth?

There is the law. There is the article about betrayal of the homeland. And in the article there is a choice. What shall we choose? If we choose the "measure of reprisal" we must not forget that history has given us at least two lessons: Robespierre's turn came next after Danton, as the latter predicted, and Tukhachevskiy, after having shot the Tambov peasants to pieces, was himself shot.

There is no doubt that evil must be severely punished. The conspirators must pay for their adventure. This is not only a punishment for them. It is a warning for many others. A prohibition. A taboo.

But we also need another prohibition, another taboo. There is a great temptation to boo and shout and go on a witch hunt, handing out sentences right at the rally.

And one last excursion into history. As contemporaries have recalled, the country breathed much more easily after the rout of the Kornilov rebellion. The euphoria was such that they did not notice how the right-wing "deviation" smoothly but swiftly moved to the left... The last thing I want is for people to misunderstand me. Most frequently and in most cases this is not a matter of people: At the great turning points of history the society is tossed from side to side in such a way that God forbid that we miss our chance, lose control, and allow ourselves to be swept away somewhere once again.

## Fate of CPSU Property, Investments Viewed

*914B0368A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 29 Aug 91 p 1*

[Article by S. Pluzhnikov and A. Monakhov: "Old Square: A Field of Wonders Has Been Discovered"]

[Text] **SS Gruppenfuehrer Mueller: "THE GOLD OF THE PARTY IS A BRIDGE INTO THE FUTURE, THIS IS AN APPEAL TO OUR CHILDREN, TO THOSE WHO ARE NOW ONE MONTH, A YEAR, OR THREE YEARS OLD. THOSE WHO ARE 10 NOW DO NOT NEED US... HOWEVER, THOSE WHO UNDERSTAND NOTHING NOW WILL TALK ABOUT US AS A LEGEND, AND A LEGEND NEEDS TO BE SUSTAINED..."**

**From Yu. Semenov, "Seventeen Moments of Spring"**

**From KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA Files**

**The CPSU owned about 5,000 buildings. The overall floor space of the CPSU Central Committee office buildings in Moscow comes to 137,000 square meters.**

**Eighty thousand people are employed in 114 publishing houses and 81 printing plants of the CPSU. In Moscow alone, the planned annual profits of four printing enterprises should have come to 450 million rubles [R].**

**The CPSU had at its disposal 19 sanatoriums, four resort hotels with 7,000 beds, hundreds of polyclinics and hospitals. CPSU Central Committee dachas in Serebraynyy Bor and the Moscow area alone held 1,800 families.**

**Despite this, the CPSU financial services now maintain that party property is estimated to cost R5.3 billion, that there are only R2.4 billion in party accounts at the USSR State Bank, and several thousand dollars for business travel in the Bank for Foreign Economic Relations. To date, nothing is known about party funds kept in Soviet commercial banks, invested in the charter funds of small and joint enterprises, and deposited in accounts abroad.**

What is going to happen to CPSU property? As it turns out, at present, this issue concerns most deeply those who worked and continue to work at enterprises which belong to the CPSU, and who are far removed from politics.

A meeting of the labor collective was held on Tuesday at the motor pool of the CPSU Central Committee (more than 500 Volga cars), at which inquiries to the mayor's office of Moscow and the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers were approved. These are inquiries concerning to whom the top-notch drivers, until recently serving ranking party apparatchiks, will report. No response has been received so far. The people continue to show up for work, but the cars are idle.

As it turns out, several months ago, Politburo members and heads of the CPSU Central Committee departments stopped using the ZIL cars from the so-called Special Garage (GON). The fleet of GON cars was reduced. Its drivers served only the apparatus of the USSR president, which is what they continue to do at present.

Director of the CPSU Central Committee hotel Oktyabrskaya (five stars, 210 rooms with 350 beds) stated that the fate of his unit was being decided in the apparatus of the RSFSR president. He had already learned from unofficial sources that Oktyabrskaya will belong to the RSFSR Council of Ministers. By all signs, delegations invited by the governments of Russia and the Union, people's deputies, rich Soviet citizens, and foreign tourists will stay there again. That is to say, the doors of the hotel will continue to be closed to simple mortals, and its telephone will not be listed by the 09 telephone enquiry service.

The Consumer Services Combine of the CPSU Central Committee on Kutuzov Avenue (dry cleaners, laundry, tailor and shoemaker shops with 500 employees) has so far continued to operate. Old orders are being filled, but new ones are not being taken.

Deputy Director Yevgeniy Pirogov said: "As early as last year, the labor collective resolved to transform the combine into a joint- stock enterprise. However, the CPSU Central Committee forbade this. Yesterday, we resolved at a meeting of the collective to take this proposal to the mayor's office of Moscow. We think they will support us."

We also found out that not only the bank accounts of the combine have been seized. The combine cleaned cases for seats from planes flying international routes, filling orders from Sheremetyevo-2. An entire truck with 500 of such cases has been impounded.

In the publishing house Panorama, we were told that, naturally, the CPSU Central Committee was no longer its parent agency. The last order from Old Square for the poster "Let us not drag Russia apart into separate principalities" came three months ago. Incidentally, the publishing house Panorama (formerly Poster) deserves to be entered in the Guinness book]: A poster with Lenin's portrait and the caption, "The party is the mind, honor, and conscience of our era" was printed in 20 million copies, which broke all world records. This was in the past! What about the future? The collective believes that the publishing house has settled with the CPSU Central Committee by generating R350 million in profits, and hopes to be independent under Russian jurisdiction. To prove their loyalty, they have already produced a series of posters, "Orders of Russia."

Nobody answered the director's phone at the furniture factory of the CPSU Central Committee facilities department for a whole day. Apparently, work has come to a halt there.

For his part, Chief of the CPSU Central Committee Repair and Construction Administration Nikolay Mitrofanov announced that about 1,000 of his workers are on the job and continue to work, because no instructions "from the top" have been issued. He responded dryly to a question about the future: "We know how to work well rather than how to make predictions. There will be things for us to do."

As far as predictions are concerned, it is difficult indeed to make them at present. For now, economic managers of the CPSU are confident about one thing: The Russian Government and local organs of administration (mayors' offices), rather than the Union will divide up party assets. They know best, they have a feel for it.

### Incidentally

Yesterday, a meeting between leaders of the interbank association Menatep and journalists was held at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Press Center which, naturally, was devoted to the operation of banks during the days of the putsch.

Responding to questions about CPSU accounts, the bankers said that they followed the "golden rule" of banks: safeguard the interests of clients and refrain from violating the laws of the state in which the bank is registered. Had the junta won and attempted to freeze some accounts they would have opposed it. It is the same case at present. If the legislature adopts regulations to the effect that CPSU accounts have a special status, then... For now, they are protecting the deposits of clients.

Responding to a question from KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA about his relationship with Valentin Pavlov, AKIB [expansion unknown] Chairman Georgiy Vorobyev said that the former prime minister was neither the organizer nor a member of the Menatep board. Actually, he met the prime minister personally just a month ago.

## Democratic Reform Movement Issues Appeal

*914B0362A Moscow TRUD in Russian*
*29 Aug 91 p 1*

[Statement by the Political Council of the Democratic Reform Movement: "We Will Display Wisdom and Tolerance to the USSR Supreme Soviet Session, and to the Leaders of the Sovereign Republics"]

[Text] One of the most dangerous results of the putsch that was eliminated by the people was the breakdown in the signing of the Union treaty. At the present time, the possibility of the dissolution of the Union into 15 independent states is real. Considering the critical position of the Soviet economy, such a decision would lead to an economic catastrophe. As a result of hasty and rash actions, the crisis could become intolerable, and it will transform the country into a gathering of wild people who will do anything to eke out a subsistence for themselves.

We welcome the process of forming and strengthening republican sovereignties that are the result of the democratization of our society. However, the national economy is built in the space of all of the republics.

First, our economy is extremely monopolized. It will not tolerate a disruption of economic ties that hits production painfully, causes damage, and exceeds possible particular gains by many times.

Second, a large part of the products being produced, excluding raw materials and energy sources, are not competitive on the world market. Therefore, we continue to need the internal market.

Third, all of the republics are within the bounds of one, albeit messed up, monetary system. The introduction of 15 independent currencies, given the absence of appropriate institutions and competent personnel, would cost ten times as much as improving the existing financial system.

If the disintegration of the integral national economy becomes a reality, then everyone will soon be convinced that the differences will be only in the scale of losses, and that no one will gain.

The old center no longer exists—it destroyed itself as a result of the conspiracy. Now, the republics themselves, if they will only be guided by common sense, should establish a new center, serving them, and not contradicting the principles of their sovereignty. This requires time and careful work, and not emotions or a play on national sympathies.

There are defense and foreign policy problems as well, which also cannot be resolved in the heat of the moment. No one in the world would want the organization of new nuclear states with an internal unstable situation.

The imminent signing of the Union treaty stirred the putschists into action. And they almost achieved the interruption they desired in this act which is very necessary to all of us.

The development of events created a principally new political and economic situation in the country. It can become both the beginning of a genuine revival of the Fatherland and the cause of an economic catastrophe.

The only reasonable way out is an immediate signing of a treaty by the heads of all Union republics on the introduction in the country of a government for a transitional period, during which there should be a settlement of all questions associated with the proclamation of independence of the republics that sign the treaty, stabilization of the economy, a guarantee of the security of the country, and implementation of previously adopted international economic and political obligations of the USSR.

This treaty should be ratified by the Supreme Soviet of the Republic.

The treaty should provide for the creation of an interrepublic organ that performs the following functions:

—in the political sphere, the settlement of territorial, property, and other mutual claims of the republics, and management of the organs that ensure the security of the country and the implementation of its international obligations;

—in the economic sphere, the conduct of a coordinated credit- financial and monetary policy for the purpose of combating inflation and the prevention of the catastrophic impoverishment of the people; the organization of mutually advantageous trade-economic relations between republics, and the coordination of the activity of branches that are of key significance to the vitality of the country.

To fulfill these proposals, we think it is necessary to bring the presidents of the Union republics into the Security Council staff and to consider it the highest collegial administrative organ of the country.

The following executive organs, which it is necessary to form in a very short time, should be subordinate to the Security Council:

interrepublic committee for the coordination of economic policy;

interrepublic committee for defense and security;

interrepublic committee for foreign policy;

interrepublic committee for finances and taxes;

interrepublic banking committee;

interrepublic human rights committee;

interrepublic coordination committee on prices and income;

interrepublic committee on trade.

The activity of these interrepublic organs should be based on the principles of equality of all republics, their obligation to jointly adopted decisions, and the application of economic sanctions to the republics that decline to abide by these decisions.

Ties with the republics that do not want to sign the treaty on the introduction in the country of a transition period regime should be built in accordance with the principles of international economic relations (account settlements in accordance with world prices in a freely convertible currency) after the settlement of territorial, defense, economic, humanitarian, and other questions on the basis of international law.

The transition of society to a new status inevitably will be complicated and painful, but it is within our power to make it smooth, to try to reduce the negative consequences to a minimum, and not to multiply them.

All people and all republics are keenly interested in the preservation of an integral economic space in which tighter political and state alliances can be formed.

We will show wisdom and tolerance in order that our citizens and our children do not have reason for bitter reproaches against us.

To implement the proposed program of actions, we request the USSR Supreme Soviet to examine the following draft resolution.

"Considering the crisis situation and the necessity for an immediate resolution of tasks associated with the administration of the country in the transition period, place on the agenda of the special USSR Congress of People's Deputies the question on introducing changes and amendments to the USSR Constitution on problems of governing the country in the transition period."

[Signed] Political Council of the Democratic Reform Movement

## Judicial Officials' Response to Putsch Viewed

*914b0372a Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Aug 91 Union Edition p 8*

[Article by V. Rudnev: "How the Authorities Guarded Law and Order"]

[Text] We will not today talk about the USSR KGB or MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs]. The documents and the officials testifying to the activity of these law enforcement authorities in the period from 19 through 22 August are in the possession of the investigating authorities. We will talk about others. About persons not implicated, as it is believed today.

On 19 August N. Trubin, prosecutor general of the USSR, was on official business in Cuba and returned to Moscow on the 20th. Having studied the situation, we were into 21 August by this time, he instituted criminal proceedings against the members of the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency]. But what had been happening in the absence of the USSR prosecutor general? A telegram had been sent to all prosecutors of the country.

**Government. "In accordance** (my emphasis—V.R.) with the statement of the Soviet leadership, the ukase of the acting president of the USSR, Decree No. 1 of the State Committee for the State of Emergency, the appeal to the Soviet people, and the appeal to heads of state and government and the UN secretary general of 18 August of this year, adopt immediate measures for exercise of the strictest supervision of compliance with the USSR Constitution and legislation of the USSR under the conditions of the state of emergency. It is essential to be guided here by the law of the USSR on the USSR Procuracy. To immediately report the most serious instances of **opposition** (my emphasis—V.R.) to the legal treatment of the state of emergency to the USSR Procuracy. To convey this directive immediately to subordinate prosecutors. A. Vasilyev, acting prosecutor general of the USSR."

**N. Trubin's comment:** "A. Vasilyev and I. Abramov, who directed the formulation of this document, have been dismissed from the procuracy authorities."

Another leader of the Union law enforcement authority, S. Lushchikov, minister of justice of the USSR, was on leave on 19 August. He returned to Moscow on 20 August. He studied the situation. And hereupon issued a directive to the localities.

**Government.** "I request the adoption of the necessary measures to ensure the uninterrupted work of the organs of justice establishments and the courts pertaining to the performance of **normal** (my emphasis—V.R.) work based on the requirements of the law. If necessary, a duty roster of senior officials in the courts and justice establishments should be instituted. Lushchikov, minister of justice."

According to S. Lushchikov, in his absence no instructions emanated from the ministry, and its officials had no contact with members of the SCSE and its sympathizers. However, upon his return from vacation he contacted Yuriy Golik, chairman of the presidential Committee for Coordination of the Work of the Law Enforcement Authorities, and they began to organize an operation for the release of the president of the USSR and for M. Gorbachev's safe return to Moscow.

**Information to reflect on.** The editorial office has a voice recording of testimony to the effect that a draft decree of the SCSE on the introduction of the jurisdiction of military tribunals was in the period from 20 through 21 August being prepared in the administrative system of the USSR Ministry of Justice. Of which, as we know and has been confirmed by anonymous calls from the ministry, S. Lushchikov himself knew. And this means that **the country was a step away from summary courts martial.**

Yevgeniy Smolentsev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, was in Moscow on 19 August and subsequent days. No official explanations were forthcoming from the country's highest judicial presence at this critical time. It is known merely that the chairman declined to comment on the decisions of the SCSE and concealed their directives from members of the Supreme Court. Yevgeniy Smolentsev's explanation is brief: "We are judges and should remain aloof from political events. The Supreme Court did not have the right at that time to issue legal opinions on the directives of the SCSE."

"Yevgeniy Alekseyevich, you were seen on 20 August at the mass meeting at the 'White House'?

"Regard my being there not as chairman of the Supreme Court but as USSR citizen Smolentsev."

We have thus acquainted readers with the actions of the Union law and order authorities. We will continue with the Russian authorities.

We have already described in detail (IZVESTIYA No. 204) the actions of the RSFSR MVD at the time of the putsch. The work of the Russian Procuracy on 19 August began with an operational meeting chaired by Valentin Stepankov, prosecutor general of the RSFSR. It was decided that there were no legitimate grounds for Yanayev's assumption of the office of president of the USSR. The Russian prosecutors evaluated the actions of the SCSE as being contrary to the constitutions of the country and the republic. They evaluated the situation that had been created as an emergency. For this reason V. Stepankov immediately called officials of his staff back from leave. He himself drove to the "White House."

A. Vasilyev's telegram finally reached V. Stepankov on 20 August. He did not cancel the directive of the center but cautioned Russian prosecutors by telephone to act on the basis of the RSFSR Constitution and the ukases of the president of Russia. On the 21st Stepankov instituted criminal proceedings against the putschists, and on the 22d the principal characters of the SCSE were with his approval arrested at Vnukovo-2.

On 19 August Nikolay Fedorov, minister of justice of the RSFSR, was visiting his native Cheboksary on deputy's business. He mounted a mass meeting against the SCSE and straightaway flew to Moscow, where he saw the tanks. He dropped in at the ministry, but spent the night at the "White House." It was suggested that he, like other members of the parliament and government of Russia, take up arms. N. Fedorov declined by reason of principle, believing that it was inappropriate for a minister of justice to carry weapons. His physical strength was, as he told me, sufficient protection. A 'phoned telegram went out to the localities under his signature and that of Vyacheslav Lebedev, chairman of the Russian Supreme Court, on 20 August.

**The 'phoned telegram.** "Announced on 19 August 1991 was the formation of the State Committee for the State of Emergency, which, in turn, announced the assumption of state power in the country. An ukase of RSFSR President Yeltsin has declared the committee anticonstitutional and categorized the actions of its organizers as a coup d'etat. In accordance with the ukase, all decisions adopted on behalf of this committee are deemed unlawful and have no validity on the territory of the RSFSR. Legislative instruments adopted only by the constitutional organs of power and administration apply on the territory of the RSFSR. N. Fedorov, minister of justice of the RSFSR. V. Lebedev, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Court."

**Question to Vyacheslav Lebedev:**

"You could, after all, have followed the example of your senior colleague—the chairman of the USSR Supreme Court—and remained silent. The SCSE's actions in the first days of the coup demanded, after all, a response not of the court but of other law enforcement authorities."

"This is true. And I could have remained silent. There are formal grounds for this. But there is such a thing as 'H' hour. A time when it is necessary to act not only on the basis of official instructions but conscience also."

"Were you not frightened?"

"You know, I was not. I had visitors from Belgium in my office on 20 August. They were upset, naturally, and were on the point of tears. I calmed them and told them that the power of the SCSE would not last long...."

"And how did the judges behave?"

"We know of only one instance of a Moscow people's judge administering liability for participation in an unsanctioned mass meeting at the time of the putsch. We are currently investigating this case."

**Questions to N. Fedorov:**

"What lessons have you, as minister of justice, learned from the putsch?"

"I believe that it is still too early to make evaluations. For me all these events are like a bad dream. One thing I may say as yet with confidence: At the dramatic time of the coup d'etat the presidential Committee for Coordination of the Work of the Law Enforcement Authorities displayed at best confusion and helplessness. And at worst.... But let God be their judge. But the committee's belated assumption of coordination of the activity of the law enforcement authorities, whose leaders had already been arrested by the Russian authorities, could be called nothing other than strange. I will go further: Yu. Golik's committee is not only helpless but also dangerous in the period of legal reform and the separation of powers."

"How did you come to be on the team to rescue the president of the USSR?"

"This was Ivan Silayev's decision. For me this proposal of the Russian prime minister was an honor. The danger of our desperate step I sensed later, when I was acquainted with the radio intercept in connection with our special trip."

## Minister Stroganov Denies Opposing Constitution

*914B0354A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian*
*28 Aug 91 Union Edition p 4*

[Letter from G. Stroganov, former chairman of the USSR State Committee for Machine Building: "Former Minister—On the Cabinet Meeting"]

[Text] We are publishing the letter received by the editors from the former chairman of the USSR State Committee for Machine Building G. Stroganov:

"I wish to add my word to the article in the newspaper IZVESTIYA (No. 201) 'On the Meeting of the Cabinet of Ministers on That Monday.'

"The published text does not correspond to what I said or did. I said I had spoken with many machine builders and a number of comrades from the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Engineering Academy—they were all in favor of the most rapid possible signing of the Union treaty. I went on to say that there was still order on the job in machine building but that it was necessary to impose discipline more resolutely. People want to work and live better and therefore our task is to provide for this. Neither my subordinates nor I ever gave any instructions that contradicted the Constitution, including during those tragic days of 19-21 August 1991. I made no statements in this connection."

From the editors: Returning again to our articles on the meeting of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers on 19 August, we wish to emphasize that the true course of this meeting and the positions of its participants will have to be established by an investigation, if one is conducted.

## Medical Operations During Coup Described

*914B0364B Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian*
*29 Aug 91 Union Edition p 6*

[Article by L. Ivchenko: "What the Medics Did"]

[Text] **In our country, which is now overflowing with rumors and reports, they are also saying that hospital rooms and medical teams were prepared in advance for the period of the coup, and stocks of blood were reserved.**

First Deputy USSR Minister of Health A. Baranov explained: "Indeed, we took our measures when we saw that the situation was getting hot. We did our professional duty. Nobody issued any instructions 'from the top' for us or warned us in advance. However, having seen tanks on the streets, we naturally surmised that emergency medical aid would be needed. This is why we put our service on heightened alert. An order by the minister was issued, and on the morning of 20 August was circulated to the medical subdivisions of our country. We sent telephone messages to the All- Union Scientific Center for Surgery (VNTsKh), the Surgical Institute imeni A.V. Vishnevskiy, the Scientific Research Institute of Neurosurgery imeni N.N. Burdenko, and the Central Institute for Injury Treatment (TsITO) requesting that 20 percent of hospital beds be reserved, and that standby reserve brigades be put on duty. Standing ready to provide aid in a situation fraught with serious consequences is a normal response by medics. It was not important on which side the injuries may occur. We also issued instructions to prepare special disease control teams.

[Ivchenko] Why the disease control teams?

[Baranov] This is our usual pattern for operations under extraordinary conditions.

[Ivchenko] How were the instructions of the Ministry of Health carried out?

[Baranov] In Moscow, 500 ambulance crews were in action, as well as 16 specialized medical standby teams; 18,620 in-patient beds were allocated. A stock of medicines for the daily operations of crews in response to 280,000 calls was accumulated at substations and in the central pharmacy of the ambulance service.

[Ivchenko] This was happening in Moscow, and what about the rest of the country?

[Baranov] The main effort was concentrated in Moscow and Leningrad because by all signs, the main events unfolded in these two cities.

[Ivchenko] What difficulties did you run into as you mobilized forces so rapidly?

Deputy Minister A. Moskvichev said: "Lack of donor blood and medicine. Due to this, planned operations had to be postponed. The necessary stock of blood and blood substitutes was set up urgently."

Thank God, it blew over. Now that the danger is over, the order has been canceled.

## Health Minister Accused of Coup Support

*914B04364A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian*
*29 Aug 91 Union Edition p 6*

**I am looking at a letter from RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Minister of Health V. Kalinin which takes a lot from the genre of denunciation. He accuses Union Minister I. Denisov "and all of his structures" (the author's style is preserved—note by S. Tutorskaya) of treacherously subordinating themselves to the coupists—no more and no less.**

Really? Did the functionaries of the Ministry of Health glorify the junta? No, this did not happen.

To be sure, regrettably something else did not happen either: an immediate inquiry about the condition of the president's health, which the medics ought to have done in the muddle of the first day of the coup. The medics understood the entire falsity of declarations to the effect that "he is not feeling well" and "an organism is exhausted doing work like this" better than most...

The author of these notes is not an admirer of the style of work of the USSR Ministry of Health, which is confirmed by a multitude of presentations critical of the ministry. Nonetheless, there is quite a difference between being lost and lacking a civic position at a critical point, and betrayal.

That neither the Ministry of Health of the Union nor the Academy of Medical Sciences made statements on the very first day is very troublesome in their current condition. However, look at what Russian Minister V. Kalinin instructs oblast and city departments of health to do in his document: "I categorically forbid carrying out any orders and instructions of the USSR Ministry of Health, as well as contacts with their (?) functionaries."

Once again, we cannot but exclaim: "Really?" What if, God forbid, a cholera pandemic breaks out tomorrow, and the country's chief specialist for infectious diseases, who has the most complete information, announces this, are they "not to make contacts" either?

Incidentally, the credit for Moscow physicians being able to provide aid to all who needed it during those anxious days and nights goes directly to the Union Ministry of Health. This was recently certified in writing by Chief of the Department of Health of the city of Moscow R. Anufriyev: He offered thanks for the medicines allocated and for timely assistance...

**EDITORIAL NOTE: Readers are calling IZVESTIYA, and people are coming in who report still new details of the three days in August. Unfortunately, increasingly often we get to hear that documents have been destroyed, encrypted messages have been confiscated, and minutes have disappeared... We cannot allow the documentary evidence of the "technology" of the putsch to disappear. We await direct testimony by our readers and documents pertaining to the August coup which are socially significant. We intend to include the most important reports in the IZVESTIYA investigation upon verifying them.**

**Our phone number is 299-72-37.**

## Media & Journalism

### Ignatenko Plans 'Sweeping' Reform of TASS

*LD0609083691 Moscow TASS in English 0826 GMT 6 Sep 91*

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—New TASS Director General Vitaliy Ignatenko, appointed to the post after the August coup plans sweeping reforms for the largest Soviet news agency.

Before his appointment, Ignatenko served as Gorbachev's spokesman.

"We want to achieve a situation when no one would authorise us, wring our hands, or loom behind our journalists," Ignatenko said in an interview with MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA.

TASS will carry official information, including transcripts of congresses and important political developments and reports about government receptions and visits, he said

"However, this service will employ no more than a tenth of the agency's potential," he said.

"Other workers will concentrate on the free flow of information based on facts and common sense," he said.

TASS will offer a single service for Soviet and foreign news organisations. The agency will move over to a contract system of employment. The agency's ruling collegium has already resigned. Most TASS workers are honest, principled people, he said.

The agency plans to achieve full economic self-efficiency, but "it is yet to early to speak about this". It is necessary to boost the agency's image that has been damaged. Ignatenko pins hopes on younger journalists who had little say in the agency's affairs in the past.

From now on, political analysts and reporters will state their own point of view that might differ from the official position, he said.

"TASS journalists have the right to give a personal evaluation of developments and society will only profit from this," he said.

### PRAVDA Editor Cited on New-Style Newspaper

*PM0509133591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Sep 91 Union Edition p 6*

[Report by S. Livshin: "And Only Glasnost Is Silent"]

[Text] And so the publication of PRAVDA has resumed. The name remains the same but the editorial office's journalists' organization has become the founder of the now independent newspaper. The traditional call "Proletariats of All Countries, Unite!" on the first page has disappeared.

PRAVDA is faced with a complex period. A debts of around 5 million rubles, difficulties with the publishing house, and a loss of trust on the part of many readers. Incidentally, as the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Ministry of the Press and Mass Media reported, the people who decide to end their subscription for 1991 may return their receipts to communications departments and get their money back for the remaining months.

"But the PRAVDA workers have decided to do the newspaper differently," said G. Seleznev, who was recently elected chief editor by the collective. "We are reviewing the structure and the cadres. According to the new statutes, I can only appoint one-third of the leading cadres, and the rest are nominated by the journalists themselves. Clearly we will have to cut down on numbers, but we will try to approach this on an individual basis and help everyone who leaves PRAVDA. Incidentally, concerning my predecessor, I. Frolov: He was ill for a long time, and is now in the FRG convalescing after his operation. Concern about people and about the new newspaper requires a great deal of resources. But offers have been made by Western and Soviet firms that are prepared to invest money in our renewed newspaper. Furthermore, an account for solidarity with PRAVDA has been opened in Italy.

As for the other publications, suspended by the RSFSR Presidential Decree, the majority of these have already started coming out following a change of founders and re-registration. SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA's editorial office yesterday presented documents for registration at the RSFSR Ministry of the Press and Mass Media. The newspaper's new founders are the journalists' collective and the "Zavidiya" firm.

And it is only the CPSU Central Committee weekly "Glasnost" that has still not come out yet. Admittedly there is already a newspaper of that name published by the well-known defender of rights S. Grigoryants. So that Yu. Izyumov and his colleagues, if they decide to renew their publication, will have to think of another name.

Of course the main issue is not the masthead. These newspapers have been extolling "intelligence, honor, and conscience" and persecuting "so-called" democrats" for too long now for us to believe so easily in their enlightenment, which has been as rapid as their re-registration. But let us nevertheless leave the last word about whether the publication should come out or not—with the readers.

### Pravda Publishing House Becomes Leased Enterprise

*PM0509121191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Sep 91 Single Edition p 3*

[Report by N. Lyaporov under "Round the Country" rubric: "Chains Cast Off"]

[Text] New times are coming even for the very old "Pravda" Publishing House. Representatives of its thousands-strong collective spoke of this when they assembled for a conference at their House of Culture.

In recent times the question of switching to lease forms of management has been raised many times. Discussing this question, the conference participants decided on an immediate switch to leasing under RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] jurisdiction and subsequent movement toward the next step—an association. The lease enterprise's statutes have been adopted. V. Leontyev has been elected director of the new leased organization.

But what to call this new organization? A dispute broke out on this question. Several speakers argued that the former name had been compromised, that it evokes negative emotions, and so forth. However, the overwhelming majority did not wish to part with the name, which is already historic. The vote for the proposal to become the "Pravda Independent Publishing House" was carried with a unanimity rare for our times.

### New SELSKAYA ZHIZN Editorial Board

*914B0379A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 3 Sep 91 p 2*

[Unattributed article: "From the Editorial Board"]

[Text] The turbulent times endured by the country have also affected life on the editorial board of our paper. The last two working days of the past week were full of events and were very important in the fate of the publication. Declaring its right to determine the makeup of the newspaper, during heated discussions the labor collective defined the path for further work and chose the staff of the editorial board. A.P. Kharlamov was elected from among several candidates to become chief editor of the newspaper SELSKAYA ZHIZN.

M.V. Sharov was approved as first deputy chief editor, A.S. Morgachev and V.P. Plotnikov as deputy chief editors, and B.D. Lesnik, M.I. Silvanovich, V.N. Solovyev, and B.M. Pilipenko as members of the editorial board.

Reporting on staff changes in the leadership of the publication, we would like to emphasize once more that the new editorial board of SELSKAYA ZHIZN will be true to its traditions, objectively report on processes in the agro-industrial complex of the country, and stubbornly protect and defend the interests of the peasantry and all who live and work in the countryside.

### LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA Spurns Founders

*914B0379C Moscow LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA in Russian 23 Aug 91 p 1*

["Ruling of the Labor Collective" of the LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA editorial board]

[Text] We are indignant at the unprincipled position of the Moscow Oblast CPSU Committee with regard to the actions of the so-called SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] and with regard to the tragedy which developed in Moscow on 19-21 August 1991. A serious blow has been dealt to the authority of convinced communists and residents of the Moscow area, who believed to the end in the sincerity, justice, and honesty of the leaders of the organs of the party and the MK [Moscow Committee] of the CPSU.

We are indignant at the attitude of the MK CPSU toward the press organ of the residents of Moscow Oblast—the newspaper LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA—and the labor collective of the editorial board.

The newspaper has existed in Moscow Oblast for more than 70 years, and its life was always closely connected with the cares, anxieties, and affairs of the workers of the towns and cities of the Moscow region and of the detachment of communists of the oblast, many thousands strong, who worked here in the most difficult and crucial sectors of the national economy.

The newspaper regularly published articles reflecting opinions that differed from the position of the leadership of the MK CPSU. This resulted in an extremely negative reaction from the founders of the newspaper. The collective of LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA repeatedly raised the question to its founders of changing the status of the newspaper, expressing a wish to become a people's paper of the Moscow region. This proposal was published in one of the January issues of LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA.

The idea of the paper as a people's newspaper received wide support from the readers. But we constantly received a categorical refusal from the founders of LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA.

On 20 August the Moscow Oblast Soviet Presidium—and, by mutual agreement of the MK CPSU and the leadership of the Moscow Oblast Soviet, the newspaper LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA continued to fulfill the functions of an organ of the Moscow Oblast Soviet—sent to the editorial board of the newspaper an official decree which obligated the local soviet organs and organizations of the oblast to accept for strict fulfillment the 19 August 1991 ukases of RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] President B.N. Yeltsin. However the bureau of the MK CPSU rejected the proposal of the chief editor of the newspaper to publish the 21 August decree of the Moscow Oblast Soviet Presidium, in this fashion giving people cause to consider the loyal attitude of the party organ to events. (This decree of the Moscow Oblast Soviet Presidium is published in today's issue of the newspaper.)

In conjunction with the existing situation and with such a position on the part of the bureau and secretariat of the MK CPSU, the collective of the editorial board does not consider it possible for the newspaper to remain a press organ of the MK CPSU and has prepared a packet of documents for reregistration of the newspaper, having resolved to become one of its founders.

These events have also resulted in the resignation of a number of the newspaper's communists from the party. Until the resolution of the issue of the reregistration, the collective of the editorial board is defining the newspaper as a people's publication of Moscow Oblast and requests that residents of the Moscow region and all our readers support the position of the journalists of LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA.

[Signed] Collective of the editorial board of the newspaper LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA.

### Labor Collective Claims Publishing House

*914B0379D Moscow VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA in Russian 22 Aug 91 p 1*

["Statement of the Labor Collective of the MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA Publishing House: A Free Press Means a Free Publishing House"]

[Text] During those days that were so tragic for all the people of our country, the collective of the MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA publishing house found itself a hostage of the old system. The printing of all publications except the newspapers MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA and LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA was forbidden, and the enterprise suffered serious damage to morale and economic losses. Tensions increased around the publishing house and the labor collective made insistent demands, and on 21 August, at an expanded meeting of the leadership of the publishing house and representatives of the workshops and services, a ruling was adopted concerning a temporary halt in the operations of the enterprises, which blocked the publication of the newspapers permitted by the self-styled Committee for the State of Emergency.

The collective of the publishing house has lately found itself under powerful pressure from extremist political forces which have as their goal the complete seizure of all rights to ownership of the publishing house.

All this creates serious difficulties in our activities, destabilizes the situation, and obstructs economic approaches to the organization of cost-accounting relations with partners.

In conjunction with the aforementioned, the labor collective demands:

1. That the basic funds, buildings, and equipment of the MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA publishing house be transferred to the ownership of the labor collective and that it be reorganized into the "Moscow Press House" with subsequent creation on that basis of a joint-stock society.

2. The collective of the enterprise demands to organize its own activities in full accordance with the USSR Law on the Press and other laws of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and USSR.

### Party Papers in Volgograd Suspended

*914B0379B Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 29 Aug 91 p 3*

[Article by D. Shevarov: "The Foundations of Democracy Have Been Laid"]

[Text] Yesterday only one oblast newspaper was published in Volgograd—the independent youth publication MIG. Journalists of the "temporarily closed" newspapers VOLGOGRADSKAYA PRAVDA and VECHERNIY VOLGOGRAD gathered at the entrance to the Press House on the square near the train station for the fourth day in a row. Since the previous Saturday they have been refused passage onto the territory of the publishing house by ruling of the city soviet. Before their offices were sealed the employees of the former party publication were only permitted to take personal items under the supervision of the militia.

On Tuesday Ivan Shabunin, chairman of the oblast soviet executive committee, addressed the residents of Volgograd Oblast by local television. The evening before severally radically minded deputies of the oblast soviet had publicly tried to accuse the leaders of the soviet of high treason and threatened that "a place will be found in Hell for all." Shabunin who, from the first hours of the putsch, took upon himself organization of the opposition to the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] in the oblast, declared that we would not permit "the unleashing of a Chinese Red Guard movement. So long as there exists a legitimate power elected by the people of the oblast, the presidium of the oblast soviet will not permit anyone to play the role of a hand-picked administrative elite." At the same time the commission for a deputy's investigation of the activities of officials in the period of the coup d'etat requested that the residents of Volgograd report "on reliable instances of support of the SCSE." It is clear that those who respond to this appeal will be those who like to inform on people under all regimes. Today they will be informing out of love for the Fatherland.

### Coup Attempt Prompts Changes in Writers' Union

*914B0355A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 34, 28 Aug 91 p 9*

[Resolution of the Secretariat of the USSR Union of Writers Board adopted on 23 August 1991: "Will We Do Without a Split?"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted]

After protracted, stormy, and noisy debate without which, it appears, not a single meeting can do at present, secretaries worked out a resolution in which they stated that the Secretariat of the USSR Union of Writers Board believed the liquidation of the antistate conspiracy to be a great victory of the people, and that the working secretariat of the USSR Union of Writers supported antidemocratic tendencies in the Union of Writers, and did not state its condemnation of the actions of the junta at the decisive moment.

**IT IS RESOLVED:**

**To remove from their positions Acting Secretary of the Board S. Kolov and Chairman of the USSR Literary Fund N. Gorbachev in view of their unbecoming conduct during the putsch. To suggest that secretaries of the board Yu. Gribov, F. Kuznetsov, and Yu. Verchenko resign in view of their equivocal conduct.**

**To evaluate the publication of "A Word to the People" signed by Yu. Bondarev, V. Rasputin, and A. Prokhanov as ideological support for the antistate coup and demand that they resign as secretaries of the boards of the USSR Union of Writers and the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Union of Writers.**

**To evaluate the ideological thrust of the newspapers DEN, LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA, and MOSKOVSKIY LITERATOR, and of the magazines NASH SOVREMENNIK and MOLODAYA GVARDIYA as propagation of ethnic discord, as an intentional or unintentional call for antidemocratic actions. To remove the tag of the USSR Union of Writers from the newspaper DEN, to discontinue its financing with writers' funds, and to reregister it as another publication of the Union of Writers.**

**To temporarily entrust the responsibilities of organizational secretaries of the board to V. Saveleyev and V. Oskotskiy.**

**To temporarily entrust the responsibilities of chairman of the board of the USSR Literary Fund to V. Ognev until elections at a plenum of the Literary Board Fund.**

**In view of the extraordinary circumstances, to include the following in the secretariat on a temporary basis, until their confirmation by a plenum of the USSR Union of Writers Board: V. Astafyev, A. Adamovich, A. Anfinogenov, Yu. Karyakin, B. Mozhayev, A. Nuykin, V. Oskotskiy, A. Pristavkin, T. Pulatov, A. Rybakov, V. Savelyev, and V. Sokolov.**

**To propose to the union organizations of writers that an extraordinary plenum of the USSR Union of Writers be held on 31 August 1991.**

**On 26 August, an all-Moscow meeting of writers will be held; its preparation will be entrusted to the council of the Independent Moscow Writers Association, April (which was done; the meeting has been held—LITERATURNAYA GAZETA note). To call on writers to hold the first general meeting, to which all members of the Union of Writers are invited instead of the forthcoming Ninth Congress of Writers. S. Mikhalkov, who supported this concept, voluntarily resigned his responsibilities as chairman of the organizational committee for preparing the ninth congress. The Secretariat of the USSR Union of Writers Board believes that further activities of the organizational committee for preparing the ninth congress are not feasible. Yu. Gribov's request to be relieved of the responsibilities of the secretary of the board shall be honored. To acknowledge statements by USSR Union of Writers Secretaries Yu. Surovtsev and K. Skvortsov that they were not present at a meeting of the secretariat on 20 August. To acknowledge that K. Skvortsov no longer is a working secretary. To propose that K. Skvortsov resign. To denounce S. Kolov and N. Gorbachev for fleeing from this highly significant secretariat, and to consider them withdrawn from the secretariat until a final decision is made by a plenum of the USSR Union of Writers Board.**

[Passage omitted]

### Old, New Teams Compete To Produce 'Vremya'

*PM0509154991 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Sep 91 p 6*

[Article by "a certain B. Karlov": "Temporary Difficulties"]

[Text] So "Vremya" is no more. But the slot remains. Now you have to change the name, the way the news is presented, the style of delivery, the opening credits, the musical accompaniment—and you have a new program. There is a view that it cannot be done by the old team. So a new team is rapidly being put together—but most of the members will be well known to you, although they have not often been allowed to participate in such a serious matter as "Vremya."

But the "old team" does not intend to give up the air without a fight, no doubt believing, not unreasonably, that its great experience, combined with the new conditions that have arisen at Central Television, could produce good results.

So there is competition for the right to create and then run the country's new main news program. The new people will run it for the first week, and the veterans will take over for the second. Then a sociological poll will decide the winner.

Yesterday saw the first appearance of the former "Vremya." I intend to give my opinion of it in the next issue of TELENEDELYA. I suggest you do the same in letters to KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. If something you saw yesterday made an indelible impression I am prepared to hear what you have to say today between 1200 and 1300 hours (Moscow time) on 257-24-48.

### TASS Reviews 6 Sep Soviet Central Press

*LD0609073791 Moscow TASS in English 0605 GMT 6 Sep 91*

["Soviet Press Review"—TASS Headline]

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—The emergency Congress of Soviet People's Deputies ended in Moscow on Thursday, paving the way for the creation of a new union, today's newspapers report.

The congress found a "formula of agreement", KRASNAYA ZVEZDA writes, publishing the forum's resolution "on measures stemming from the joint statement by the president of the USSR and top republican leaders and decisions by the special session of the USSR Supreme Soviet".

On the eve of the congress, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and republican leaders gathered in Moscow to prepare a joint statement, outlining measures for the transition period.

"The former unitary state does not exist," KRASNAYA ZVEZDA writes.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA comments on the passage of a human rights declaration at the congress.

TRUD comments on the future of the Soviet Union

Russian Prime Minister Ivan Silayev comments in PRAVDA on the tasks of the committee for economic management. The congress took measures to move from economic absurdity to normalcy, he said.

TRUD carries an article by economist Nikolay Petrakov about ways to pull the country out of the crisis. First Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy comments on lessons Soviet diplomats learned during the putsch.

Russian Federation Prosecutor General Valentin Stepankov told PRAVDA that he will do everything possible to prevent arbitrariness during the investigation of the August putsch.

The CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension will open in Moscow on September 10. PRAVDA interviews Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy on the eve of the event. Soviet reforms aim to legally realise European human rights standards in the Soviet Union, Petrovskiy said.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA reports new tensions in Georgia, where opposition activists demand the resignation of President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, the passage of a declaration of state sovereignty by the Crimea's parliament and tensions in southern Ossetia.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA publishes documents about events in Tbilisi on April 9, 1989.

The newspaper interviews chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Economic Council Mikhail Bocharov, who said that the reason for Soviet economic woes lies in insufficient incentives for productive work.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA analyses the consequences of the emergency Congress of Soviet People's Deputies.

After consulting with President Mikhail Gorbachev and Russian President Boris Yeltsin, Soviet Defence Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov has decided not to hold a military parade on November 7, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA reports.

Newspapers report the forthcoming trial of former Panama President Manuel Noriega, a British economic forecast about economic improvement in the Soviet Union and write about a hypothesis by French scientists about what killed dinosaurs.

## Economic

### Businessmen Not Satisfied With Yeltsin Decree

*LD0609030391 Moscow TASS in English 1807 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[By TASS correspondent Yuriy Rublevskiy: "Moscow Is Unfavourable for Business—Opinion"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—The decree of the Russian president on powers of Moscow executive bodies, issued on August 28 on the initiative of the Moscow government, today was sharply criticized at a news conference of heads of the Moscow entrepreneur convention.

Soviet business people are not satisfied with the fact that the decree gave the right to the Moscow mayor to independently carry out privatization of property, the removal and granting of land plots.

The new powers of the mayor to establish an additional excise, introduce the maximum levels on prices and tariffs, deny the right to use free prices and tariffs, introduce the system of additional taxes, dues and fines will "inevitably lead to arbitrariness and suppression of commercial enterprises."

Participants in the news conference drew a parallel between the decree and "the ill-famed resolution limiting cooperative activities, which did a great damage not only to private business but the national economy on the whole."

It was noted that the document is "a claim for dictate of the Moscow government as regards free business," and that the capital's leadership "does not still want to crucially reform the command system in the economy."

In connection with the fact that provisions of the decree, which, according to heads of the convention, run counter to the Russian government's course towards the democratization of society, are being implemented, they declared Moscow "a zone unfavourable for business," and decided to begin "the three-stage transition of the centre of business activities out of the city of Moscow."

### Russian Bank Official on Credit Restrictions

*PM0509125991 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Sep 91 p 2*

[Report by Mikhail Belyayev, chief of the Russian Bank information department: "Coincidence"]

[Text] Recently the press has begun to publish accusations against the leadership of the Russian Bank. The tough control which has now been established over credit and money resources allegedly only played into the hand of the newly fledged junta. A serious and unambiguous accusation. It appeared either because of lack of information or because of the authors' failure to understand specific problems.

On 14 August the council of directors of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Central Bank described the credit and money circulation situation as catastrophic. The Pavlov cabinet's fiscal restrictive policy lashed on still further the inflation processes in the country. It has been calculated that for each ruble of the population's savings there are now goods worth 10.7 kopeks in wholesale and retail trade and by the end of the year the mass of money in circulation will be equal to the mass of money issued in the past 30 years since the 1961 revaluation. One reason is the payment of compensations. From 20 March through 15 April advance payments alone totalled 7.3 billion rubles [R].

One more important factor is that restrictions on state enterprises' consumption funds have been lifted. They are shortsightedly switching their investment potential into these funds. In addition the barrier has been removed between the cash and noncash circulation of money. Our barter economy contributed to the transfer of noncash sums into cash sums and therefore to transactions in them. This form of payment is widely practised in informal deals.

The growth of the money mass has also been influenced by the rumor that a wage freeze is allegedly being prepared. Enterprise leaders, attempting to avoid Pavlov's tyranny, hurriedly transferred part of the bonus fund into salaries, (which no one will take away). This was done just in case, to protect themselves and their collectives from "surprises."

In the situation which had taken shape the Russian Central Bank decided to "recommend to state enterprises, cooperatives, joint ventures, and other commercial structures that they use payment by written order." To this end dealings by promissory note and cheque are being introduced. (Models for securities have already been elaborated by the banks).

The leadership of the Russian bank realizes that the measures it is taking are unpopular but this is the only opportunity for stopping the printing press.

The above sheds light on the true state of affairs. As you can see, tough control over all cash assets was established by no means on orders from the junta. It was a simple coincidence.

### Return of Yavlinskiy Program Anticipated

*PM0509132591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Sep 91 p 2*

[Article by I. Shomakhova under the "Rejoinder" rubric: "Is Yavlinskiy Program Returning?"]

[Text] The creation of the interrepublican economic committee is most likely becoming a reality. Let us recall that it was this kind of organ of economic administration—an interrepublican economic committee—which was proposed by Grigoriy Yavlinskiy back in the "500 days" program "successfully" ruined by the Union's top leadership. Even then this now world famous economist, ahead of his time, tried to unite into a single whole what in the opinion of many people had not yet collapsed at that time.

Many people will also be interested in the following news: At his meeting with British Prime Minister John Major, Boris Yeltsin gave hope of a "return" of Yavlinskiy's second, "window of opportunity," program. He said literally the following:

"This is a different Union, a different Russia, we must proceed from that reality. Gorbachev is obviously inclined toward radical changes... But I must also notice that unfortunately in the past Gorbachev did not notify the countries of the 'seven' of the economic program elaborated under Yavlinskiy's leadership and therefore it was virtually not discussed."

"I think," Yeltsin stressed, "that with certain corrections we must return to that program and discuss it to begin to implement it by joint efforts."

## Agriculture

### Kazakh Official Reluctant To Sell Grain to State

*PM0509155391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1530 GMT 3 Sep 91*

[Interview with Sh.Zh. Zhuniszhanov, chief of the Kegenskiy Rayon Agricultural Administration, by Viktor Glukhovtsev; place and date not given; from the "TV Inform" newscast—live or recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Glukhovtsev] Will you be selling to the state or not?

[Zhuniszhanov] I can answer that one straightaway—we will not be.

[Glukhovtsev] Why not?

[Zhuniszhanov] It is a question of price. We have been driven into a corner. With prices like these, our agriculture will not be able to turn a profit.

[Glukhovtsev] Purchase prices for grain are low, spare parts for equipment are fabulously expensive, and other republics are constantly failing to meet their contract commitments for shipments of material resources. As a result, the grain farmers have been forced to defend themselves, their work, and their grain. They have no other way to solve this problem which higher authorities have stubbornly failed to tackle.

### Silayev Orders More Help, Incentives for Farms

*PM0609084991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Sep 91 Union Edition p 1*

[V. Gavrichkin report: "Urgent Measures Taken by Committee for Operational Management of USSR National Economy"]

[Text] Accrding to the figures of the USSR State Committee for Statistics, as of 26 August more than 60 percent of the area sown to grain crops had been harvested. Some 121.5 million tonnes of grain have been threshed. The average yield to date is 19.5 quintals [per hectare]. However, the state has been sold only 27.3 million tonnes of grain—35 percent of the state order. Less feed for livestock has been laid in and the procurement of potatoes and other vegetables is also proceeding worse than last year.

In a document signed by Ivan Silayev, leader of the committee, republic governments and local soviet executive-administrative organs are instructed above all to send the necessary transport and manpower to the countryside to complete the harvest and procure feed on the personal responsibility of the leaders of enterprises, organizations, and institutions. Personal responsibility for the sale of grain is also vested in kolkhoz chairmen, sovkhoz directors, and the leaders of other agricultural enterprises and organizations. The volumes of grain purchases toward the state order and the tax in kind as specified for the actual harvest must be strictly met.

To provide incentives for farms and their labor collectives, republic governments are instructed to introduce additional incentives. In particular, the market funds for the sale of cars, refrigerators, televisions, washing and sewing machines, and other goods allocated for September are to be used for sale in exchange for grain, potatoes, cotton, and other agricultural produce.

Urgent measures have also been taken to purchase food and raw materials abroad in the quantity set for the current year. Possibilities for attracting credit from foreign banks for food purchases are being used. And enterprises and organizations purchasing food and basic necessities with their own hard currency resources or on barter terms will be exempt from the tax on export-import transactions in September-December and the first six months of 1992.

To prepare livestock units for winter it is authorized to recruit any construction organizations, irrespective of their departmental affiliation, and to utilize the material and technical resources allocated to them.

Personal responsibility for supplying the population with food lies with the leaders of republic, kray, and oblast executive-administrative organs and, in Moscow and Leningrad, with Yu. Luzhkov, A. Sobchak, and G. Kulik. By agreement with the USSR Defense Ministry republic governments are authorized to enlist the personnel of military subunits and military educational institutions and their transport and other technical resources for the harvest.

The resolution also envisages a series of other measures. They should not be regarded just as measures of strong-arm, administrative pressure, since they do not abolish, but merely complement the rather wide scope already granted to agrarian sector enterprises to engage in mutually advantageous partnership, to sell grain to the state at contract prices and for hard currency, and to enter the domestic and foreign market.

## Military

### Shaposhnikov Moves to Rid Army of 'Bullying'

*PM0609084791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Sep 91 Single Edition p 3*

[By A. Khraptovich under the general heading: "A Mother's Heart Does Not Deceive"]

[Text] On 28 August USSR Defense Minister Marshal of Aviation Ye.I. Shaposhnikov had a meeting with members of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet commission to examine the causes of death or injury of servicemen and protect their rights and interests and also with the presidium of the All-Union Council of Servicemen's Parents [AUCSP].

The commission's chairman (he is also AUCSP chairman), RSFSR people's deputy Captain Third Rank A. Alekseyev, informed the defense minister of the commission's aims and tasks. A. Alekseyev said that it was set up (the commission was set up on the personal instructions of B.N. Yeltsin and in the very near future will be established on a unionwide scale by the USSR president) because the command, the political organizers, and the military prosecutor's office were unable to halt the wave of violence, taunts, killings, and suicides of servicemen. Bullying and clannishness [zemlyachestvo] are still rife in the Army, there has been a great increase in accidents and disasters leaving people dead or maimed, and discipline and order are poor in units and on ships. Then RSFSR people's deputy A. Alekseyev dwelt in detail on the main tasks the commission and council must tackle.

Having closely acquainted himself with their work experience, Marshal of Aviation Ye.I. Shaposhnikov approved the decisions by the commission and council leaderships to cooperate closely with the Defense Ministryon their main tasks and talked about the immediate plans for the reorganization of the USSR Armed Forces.

First and foremost, the USSR defense minister pointed out that the military-political organs and military prosecutor's office that formerly existed in the Army had actually failed to cope fully with the task of providing social protection for servicemen. The military-political organs have now been abolished. They are being replaced by organs of combat training and military and moral-psychological education, one of the main duties of which will be the social protection of troops. The forms and methods of work and the staffing of them will also be significantly revised. Marshal of Aviation Ye.I. Shaposhnikov agreed that much of the blame for the situation in the Army lay with the commanders and chiefs, who had no compunction about using deception and embellishments in their assessments of the state of discipline and order. We must immediately restore the principle whereby every serviceman is fully and personally responsible for his own actions. No commander, sergeant and above, should be afraid of a negative response "from on high" to the adoption of essential, legitimate, albeit harsh measures, even down to instituting proceedings, in order to establish regulation order and discipline.

At the end of the meeting the USSR defense minister answered questions asked by members of the commission and AUCSP presidium, firmly promising to help them and support their work.

### Issues Statement on Army Composition

*LD0509192491 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY reports: According to a statement by the USSR minister of defense, troops on the territory of republics will be used for the defense of the external borders of the republic and of the state as a whole. In a unified army, the idea is to have a mixed composition within the forces. In this context, only students are to be exempted from being drafted.

### Ukraine To Continue 'Strategic' Defense Role

*PM0509192791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Sep 91 Union Edition p 1*

[Article by IZVESTIYA military correspondent V. Litovkin: "We Are Resigned to the Breakup of the Union, but the Division of the Union Army Is Alarming"]

[Text] While the extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies is disputing the accuracy of wordings and what kind of Army there should be—unified or joint—the republics' claims to their own armed forces are acquiring substance.

POSTFAKTUM's correspondent reports that the Ukrainian People's Rukh has elaborated the republic's military doctrine. Vitaliy Chechilo, chairman of Rukh's military collegium, said:

"The independent Ukraine's own armed forces should be structured on principles of reasonable sufficiency, professionalism, and departyization. Ours will be a nuclear-free state, it will cleave to neutrality, and it will not join any military structures. The Army will be a defensive force."

According to him, it has been estimated with Canadian specialists' help that the numerical strength of the Ukrainian army will total roughly 350,000 men. It will be based on air-mobile divisions without offensive arms. The intention is that republic guard brigades will be set up in each of the Ukraine's 25 oblasts based on currently existing MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] troop units and subunits. There may be an engineering battalion, a battalion to deal with mine disasters, and other subunits. The national guard brigades will take on the lion's share of civil defense units' functions.

"To avoid misunderstandings," V. Chechilo said, "a law on the status of USSR troops on Ukrainian territory is needed, and during the transitional period the republic must cooperate with Union Armed Forces and take part in the strategic defense of the sovereign states."

Our own correspondent E. Kondratov told the editorial office of Moldova's military concerns. Moldovan President Mircha Snegur has issued four decrees on setting up a national army.

It is still not known how soon this army will be formed and how large it will be. But the government has been tasked with elaborating within the month questions relating to its materiel and technical supply, funding, and staffing with officers and drafted troops. The republic shortly intends to start talks with Moscow on the dates for the withdrawal from Moldovan territory of Soviet Army troop units stationed there and their replacement with subunits of the Moldovan Armed Forces. It wants compensation for the Soviet Army's use of land and buildings and for environmental pollution.

Now a report from Tallinn. Our own correspondent L. Levitskiy reports that the Estonian Supreme Soviet has adopted a resolution on forming republic defense forces. A defense ministry will be set up as of 1 October.

Arnold Ruutel, chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet, spoke ahead of the vote. He briefly set out the republic's military doctrine. In view of the USSR's strategic interests, A. Ruutel noted, Estonia proposes phased reductions in and withdrawal of Soviet Army units. During the first stage troop subunits must be withdrawn from the capital and nature reserves, which accounts for roughly one-third of the entire troop contingent. At the same time the military airfields at Tartu, Pjarnu, and Haapsalu must be closed and all submarines withdrawn from Estonian territorial waters. During the second and third phases troops will be withdrawn from the coast and the rest of the territory respectively.

In Arnold Ruutel's opinion, professional military men will form the core of the future defense forces and young men will be drafted on a compulsory basis. The proposed term of service is 18 months. Graduates of higher educational establishments will probably serve six months.

Estonia's newspapers have published a statement by the Baltic Military District Press Center. It denies the reports that have appeared in the press, including IZVESTIYA, about the early demobilization from the Soviet Army of young men drafted from the Baltic republics. Lieutenant General V. Mironov, commander of the Baltic District, described the references to the order that he had allegedly signed as bearing no relation to reality, but the Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium Press Center did announce this order.

The USSR Defense Ministry has authorized buildings belonging to military commissariats to be handed over to the republics.

So, yesterday's Union is disintegrating, but the division of what was recently a mighty army into 15 "parts" raises many questions. This process alarms not only serious politicians, but also the world public. There is undoubtedly no need for feverish haste; statesmanship and farsightedness are what are needed.

## General Says Half of Army Backed Coup Attempt

*PM0509103591 Paris LE MONDE in French 5 Sep 91 p 5*

[Interview with General V.I. Novozhilov, commander of the Far East Military District, by Philippe Pons in Khabarovsk on 2 September]

[Text] Khabarovsk—In the imposing red brick building in the middle of Khabarovsk dating from the tsarist era which houses the headquarters of the Far East Military District, General Viktor Ivanovich Novozhilov heads the biggest command in the eastern USSR. In the military hierarchy this post is a stepping stone to the top jobs: Gen. Novozhilov's predecessor was General Moiseyev, the former chief of General Staff, who himself succeeded Marshal Yazov, former minister of defense and member of the junta that attempted to seize power 19 August. In an interview with LE MONDE, Gen. Novozhilov declared that he refused to back the putschists, but that half his men supported the coup d'etat.

The generals responsible for this strategic region 10,000 km from Moscow traditionally enjoy greater autonomy than in the western part of the country. Gen. Novozhilov showed this independence by refusing to implement the directives he received from the junta. This 52-year-old tank officer, a graduate of the General Staff Academy and member of the Russian Communist Party Central Committee (the party was suspended after the putsch), traveled to Japan last June. Touching on the strategic problems of the Far East and also those of the USSR's future and the Army's role, he answered LE MONDE's questions Monday 2 September.

[Pons] What lesson do you draw from the 19 August coup d'etat?

[Novozhilov] Even today it is difficult to say that the Army supported the junta, or conversely that it rallied wholly to President Yeltsin. Reactions were diverse and often ambiguous. For my part, I clearly told Moscow that I refused to involve my forces in a political adventure, and I ordered all my subordinate commands to take no initiative.

Some of my officers adopted a different attitude and showed support for the junta. That was their right as individuals, but in no case should they have involved their forces. I personally called the commander of the units in Komsomolsk-na-Amure (LE MONDE 1-2 September), who was trying to pressure the local authorities and to install a state of emergency committee, to warn him that he would be instantly dismissed from his post unless he immediately ceased these activities.

[Pons] Did you receive orders from the junta?

[Novozhilov] Yes. They came from Marshal Yazov, and under them I was supposed to act as military governor of the region. My instructions were to close the news media and to deploy troops at strategic points in the city. I told Moscow that these tasks were not part of my functions and that the situation in Khabarovsk in no way necessitated such measures.

### "I Disobeyed"

[Pons] In other words, you disobeyed?

[Novozhilov] In a way, yes.

[Pons] What was the balance of forces within the Army at the time of the putsch?

[Novozhilov] I think that on 19 and 20 August the strength of the two camps was virtually identical. The elements in favor of the junta were essentially the Army political organizations. From the moment that Communist Party activity was suspended, the balance of forces progressively changed. Political commissars within the Armed Forces were dismissed from their posts, and all the organizations under their command were dissolved.

[Pons] Do you think that in the future the Army may be led to play a political role and that another coup is possible?

[Novozhilov] The Army must in no circumstances be mixed up in political matters. For my part, I do not think that another putsch is possible. Such attempts are bound to fail, and the 19 August coup d'etat has been a lesson to officers who might have been tempted by political adventures.

The Army's image had already been badly tarnished after the events of Tbilisi (Georgia) in 1989 and Vilnius (Lithuania) last year. This time the disapproval is even more obvious. While I think that the hypothesis of another coup can be ruled out, on the other hand we are moving toward tensions and confrontations stemming from the dismemberment of the Union that is in progress: conflicts between nations, ethnic conflicts, and border disputes.

**"The United States Remains a Potential Enemy"**

[Pons] Do you feel you are witnessing the death of socialism and the disintegration of the Soviet Union?

[Novozhilov] Those are two different things. For a long time now people have had no illusions about socialism. But the Soviet Union itself is not dead. On the contrary, we must do everything possible to prevent a disintegration which, unless it is halted or controlled, threatens to lead to the destabilization of the whole country. The dismemberment of the Union will cause serious security problems, in particular.

[Pons] The Soviet Far East adjoins China and faces Japan and the United States in the Pacific and has always been a strategic area of prime importance to the USSR. Despite the end of the cold war, does it remain a zone of tension?

[Novozhilov] No. But nevertheless it cannot be said that the process that has begun in Europe is as advanced in the Far East. Changes are emerging: Our relations with China are improving. Conversely, tension persists on the Korean peninsula. Furthermore, the United States remains a potential enemy to some extent in view of its strong concentration of military might in the region.

[Pons] Is China no longer a threat? Has the border again become a border of friendship, as the saying went back in the 1950's?

[Novozhilov] No. Of course, in the short term we no longer regard China as a potential enemy. But sizable forces remain stationed on both sides of the border. It will be a long time yet before people start talking again of a "border of friendship."

## Air Force Chief on Military, Nuclear Weapons

*PM0509103991 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Sep 91 p 2*

[Interview with Petr Deynekin, commander in chief of the Air Force, by Vladimir Sheleketov; place and date not given: "Air Force Commander in Chief Petr Deynekin: Air Force Will Spread Its Wings"]

[Text] [Sheleketov] Petr Stepanovich, a question which perturbs everyone: the fate of the Air Force under the conditions of the collapse of the Union.

[Deynekin] Obviously, military aircraft, strategic, long-range aircraft, cannot belong to any one republic. That is the prerogative of the center. And indeed, maintaining this cumbersome thing is an expensive pleasure.

The existing system of air traffic control in the USSR has good prospects. We are already incurring great economic losses because of our great-power ambitions. Direct air routes from Japan to Britain, from India to America via the North Pole—these flights are no problem for modern aircraft. The only obstacle here is our total secrecy. We have to fly to Vladivostok by looping round China. If we open up a direct path to foreign aviation companies, from this alone, we can earn an enormous amount of hard currency. That is why I believe that a power like ours must have a single economic market, and our strength lies not in separation but in integration.

[Sheleketov] Many people believe that some maniac or group of people only has to seize nuclear weapons for the world to be placed on the verge of catastrophe.

[Deynekin] I must reassure readers at once. The existing system for the use of nuclear weapons has several degrees. Multiple duplication prevents one single person or even a few people from putting it into operation. Even if a decision is taken on the principle of a parliamentary vote even one vote against means that it will not work. I must say in addition that there are no nuclear weapons in the country's "hot spots." There are none in the Baltic republics, the Transcaucasus, or along the Western borders. They are only deep inside the country.

[Sheleketov] How do you see the reform of the Armed Forces?

[Deynekin] With such expanses, we need a different army: a mobile, highly maneuverable army capable of moving troops where necessary from one flank to another. Because it is impossible to be equally strong everywhere. We need troops of the paratroop variety. The tank fleet of 40,000 vehicles in our country is pointless in modern warfare since the tanks would be burned by helicopters within hours. Confirmation of my words is the "Desert Storm" operation. The air force brought victory, with a loss of 88 airmen.

I believe the transition to a professional army has become an objective necessity.

[Sheleketov] The reduction carried out in the Armed Forces has also affected the Air Force. Obviously as commander in chief you have been faced with many problems?

[Deynekin] Indeed, it was decided to reduce the air forces grouping. As a result a situation has taken shape in which there are two to three airmen for each aircraft. With a great shortage of technical personnel we are not managing to ensure the scientifically justified flying mission norm which, of course, is fraught with dangerous consequences. It is just like depriving a musician of rehearsals and then giving him the opportunity to perform before the public. If we are given independence in resolving these problems then, without demanding additional appropriations, we can find for ourselves the funds for our air force's further development.

In addition we are reviewing the decision regarding the Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy. We cannot reduce it as planned quite recently as we want flying cadres' numbers to be swelled selectively, on a competitive basis. I think that together with the press we shall help the air force to spread its wings.

### Impact of Military Leadership Changes Viewed

*PM0509142191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Sep 91 p 1*

[Article by A. Krayniy: "Duelists, Aides-de-Camp, Generals All in a Row"]

[Text] The walls of the Soviet Army's White House on Arbat and of other Defense Ministry buildings are still vibrating as a result of the changes. At around midday on Saturday, the USSR president signed Army General Moiseyev's request to be discharged from active military service, and he also changed the wording of the draft decree: Not on health grounds, but following "his written request." This is unique in the history of our Army. At the same time, the president approved the appointment of three new commanders in chief. Colonel General of Aviation Petr Deynekin, an old friend of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, takes charge of the Air Force; Colonel General Vladimir Semenov, who was commander of the Transbaykal District on Friday, takes over Ground Forces; and Colonel General of Aviation Viktor Prudnikov, commander of Moscow Air Defense District, takes charge of Air Defense Forces. So the Armed Forces top command now comprises not just different generals, but people of a different generation.

Take my word for it, these "major maneuvers" affect each one of us. The people who have taken over the leadership at the Defense Ministry are not blinkered, like their predecessors; their intentions are radical, and there are going to be profound changes in the Army. For example, the Main Political Directorate has already been liquidated and the Army has been deideologized as well as departyized. A directorate for combat training and military and moral and psychological education is being set up. Education officers have been withdrawn from the deputy commander category and deprived of their authority. Now in reality they have one weapon—the word.

According to Army General Vladimir Lobov, chief of General Staff, with whom I talked last Saturday, an immediate radical military reform is needed. Vladimir Nikolayevich is sure that the period of military service could be cut right now to 18 months, gradually switching to a semiprofessional army.

There are many interesting ideas, but their implementation is being impeded by the uncertainty of our future. Without a Union treaty it is unclear what kind of army it will be, and although the new leadership is pretty relaxed about the idea of the republics forming their own military contingents along national guard lines, it nonetheless believes that it must be a single, centrally controlled army. The logic of simple arguments, if only the one that says that even Russia cannot afford to maintain strategic nuclear forces, urges politicians to preserve the Armed Forces, but where it will get us in the end God only knows. This uncertainty is compounded by total ignorance of the true scale of army cuts and is causing great anxiety in the forces.

One distinctive feature of the present moment is the fact that Boris Yeltsin is rapidly gaining popularity in the Army. The troops used to be rather cool toward him. The choice of Hero of the Soviet Union Aleksandr Rutskoy as Russian vice president did not help either.

In my view, the situation was transformed by the "RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] president's order on strengthening social protection for servicemen serving on the territory of the RSFSR." It is proposed that the military will be exempt from income tax, compensation will be paid for rented housing, and so on. These are not just words, they are reality. Yeltsin has done what the former union leadership was intending to do, but did not find time to do.

Boris Yeltsin's decision illustrates a curious and unexpected process. Following the well-known events, the democrats, having acquired power that is real rather than merely declared, are trying to preserve both the Union executive structures and the Army. Note that none of them has said a bad word about the divisions that participated in the putsch, moreover, it has been stated that the Army did not move against the people. And Anatoliy Sobchak's speech at the extraordinary session of the Union's Supreme Soviet prompted thunderous applause at the Defense Ministry, where the colonels and generals were glued to their television sets.

"There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, than are dreamt of in your philosophy."

## Future of Military-Industrial Complex Examined

*LD0609104291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Report by correspondent P. Orlov, incorporating comment by A. G. Arbakov, doctor of history and military expert, and V. M. Surikov, "member of the presidum of the military-industrial exchange"; from the "Television News Service" program—recorded]

[Text] The Army, the KGB and the CPSU were the forces on which attention was focused during the 19-21 August putsch. But you will agree that there was and is another force that is no less important and no less powerful.

[Orlov] The military-industrial complex was first called that 30 years ago by General Dwight Eisenhower, who was by then president. He spoke of how dangerous the military-industrial complex was for his own country. What, then, should we say after seeing the faces of the leaders of our military-industrial complex among the participants of the August conspiracy?

[Arbatov] As a social force the military-industrial complex certainly was in favor of this action.

[Orlov] At the present time a quarter of what our country produces is swallowed up by defense. In comparison, the figure in the United States is only six percent. Up to 80 percent of the machine-building industry works on the production of armaments and produces, in between, as it were, all the country's television sets, for example. When the attempts at reforming the economy began, it was precisely from here, from the defense industry, that appeals for order and charges of disintegration were heard. What disintegration then were they talking about? [Arbatov] Our military-industrial complex was the heart of the administrative model and could not have existed without it. Everything on which the model was based, namely, the arbitrary and willful distribution of resources, raw materials, skilled manpower and financing, and the entire system, served the military-industrial complex.

[Orlov] There were also complaints about conversion. But was this a real threat to the military-industrial complex?

[Arbatov] No, it was absolutely no real threat, first and foremost because drawing up the conversion program had been entrusted to the military-industrial complex. Thus, as far as I know, under the most recent conversion plans developed inside the military-industrial complex they further demanded approximately 60 billion rubles for conversion during the five-year period.

[Orlov] It now seems that a real danger has arisen for the defense enterprises. They have been deprived of their main support within the state, in the person of the CPSU. The attempt to enter the new system of relations is only just beginning with the creation of the military-industrial exchange.

[Surikov] One does not get a smooth regulated transition from one form of production relations to other forms.

[Orlov] Will there be unemployment?

[Surikov] Well, in my opinion there will indeed be a great amount of unemployment.

[Orlov] About 13 million people are now employed in the defense industry. No one is entitled to throw the fate of these people under the wheels of our recent history. The question is whether the country's new leadership will be able, with the smallest loss, to halt the flywheel that was set in motion by Stalin's industrialization.

## EC Recognition of Baltics Viewed

*91UF1119A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 31 Aug 91 p 3*

[Report by correspondent Vladimir Golovyashkin: "What the West's 'Doctors' Are Promising Us"]

[Text] Brussels—An emergency session of the Council of the European Community (EC) at foreign minister level has completed its business in Brussels.

The main result of the session was the adoption of a decision on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the 12 countries which are a part of the EC and the three Baltic republics.

The declaration notes that "the time has come" for Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia "to occupy their rightful place among the peoples of Europe." Measures pertaining to admittance of the Baltic republics to a number of international organizations—such as the United Nations, the Council of Europe and the CSCE—were mapped out. It was not a question as yet of their admission to the EEC, but it will be proposed that the Baltic republics conclude with the EEC agreements of association like those which have already been signed by the Common Market.

This decision of the session of the EC Council was received by the journalists present as something which went without saying and routine, and only two or three questions were put at the news conference even. But among them was the following: Did you think in adopting this decision about the future of the Russians who live on the territory of the Baltic republics? "We did," Jacques Delors, chairman of the European Communities Commission, replied. "We did and we believe that sovereignty should be acquired given absolute observance of human rights."

The session also discussed the present situation in the USSR. As expected, the EC did not adopt any specific decisions on rendering the Soviet Union assistance, explaining this by the continued atmosphere of instability and uncertainty there.

Prior to the start of the final news conference journalists heatedly discussed the desire expressed earlier by Belgian Foreign Minister Mark Eyskens for not only Mikhail Gorbachev but also the leaders of certain Soviet republics, including Boris Yeltsin, to be invited to the special top-level meeting of the EC in The Hague scheduled for September. Naturally, Jacques Delors was asked to provide the necessary clarification. According to him, this question is still being discussed.

## Baltic Deputies Lobby Gorbachev on Independence

*LD0509161691 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1700 GMT 4 Sep 91*

[Excerpt] What have our deputies in Moscow been busying themselves with? People's Deputy Juhan Aare will speak.

[Aare] This morning consultations by the Baltic deputies continued in order to achieve as much clarity as possible on the one main issue—either to make a proposal to the Congress to recognize the Baltic states or to continue to seek a president's decree to this effect. We had quite a long and thorough conversation with Aleksandr Yakovlev. As a man with a good knowledge of activity behind the scenes in the Kremlin, he too recommended that we continue to seek a president's decree, determining briefly and clearly a recognition by Moscow of the independence of the Baltic states.

Together with a couple of Latvian deputies we started immediately to draw up a draft president's decree in respect of recognizing the Baltic states. By 1230 the text comprising three points had been drawn up according to all rules, and we began to seek a meeting with President Gorbachev.

Endel Lippmaa, Hardo Aasmae, Janis Peters, permanent representative of the republic of Latvia and I had to wait for nearly 2 hours in order to hand over the draft decrees to the president. Mikhail Gorbachev was in the middle of a very intense conference, with the participation of representatives of those Union republics which plan to set up a new Union. One was left to understand that Mikhail Gorbachev will deal with the documents we presented at a first opportunity; perhaps even today. In any case, the president said to Janis Peters, permanent representative of the Republic of Latvia government this is the fifth time they have met at the congress to discuss the subject of recognizing the Baltic states. Indeed, Estonian and Latvian deputies who have been working at the Congress have not left a stone unturned in order to obtain the key to our freedom from Moscow. [passage omitted]

## Official on Baltic Independence, Russian Supremacy

*OW0609005391 Tokyo KYODO in English 1102 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] Tokyo, Sept. 5 KYODO—The Soviet Union would be in favor of admitting the three Baltic states to the United Nations, according to a senior Soviet Foreign Ministry official in charge of U.N. affairs.

"We don't see any problem in it," Yuriy Fedotov, chief of the U.N. Security council section of the ministry's International Organization Department, said in a recent interview with KYODO news service.

Fedotov, in Japan attending a symposium on U.N. peacekeeping operations, also said he would not rule out the possibility of Russia taking over the Soviet Union's seat on the Security Council.

"I can't exclude this option completely, of course," the official said.

"But in this case, we would need to state very clearly that Russia or the Russian Federation is the legitimate successor of the Soviet Union in international affairs," he said.

"This must be accepted by other republics of the Soviet Union and other members of the international community," he added.

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev is reportedly going to issue a decree soon formally freeing Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

U.N. membership of the Baltic states is expected to be approved early in the next session of the General Assembly, which opens September 17.

To join, the Baltics must receive at least nine favorable votes in the 15-member Security Council. The five permanent members—Britain, China, France, the Soviet Union, and the United States—can exercise veto power. The states must also receive a two-thirds endorsement of the General Assembly.

Fedotov said even if the Baltics were to remain in the Soviet Union or be associated with it in some way, there would be no obstacle to U.N. membership because all Soviet republics already have the constitutional right to do so.

But he noted some Western countries distinguish between the formally independent Baltic states and other Soviet republics when it comes to their prospects for U.N. membership.

The official suggested there would be difficulties in the other republics attaining U.N. membership as long as the future of the Soviet Union remains uncertain.

Fedotov said during the current transitional period, in order to avoid "collisions of interest" among the republics and between the republics and the center, "there must be established a mechanism for coordination of their activities in the U.N. and other international organizations."

Fedotov noted some republics will choose to become members of the renewed Soviet Union, while some may opt for associate status.

At the same time, some may apply for full U.N. membership, while others may initially wish to participate in specialized U.N. agencies to acquire needed resources and expertise.

"But all of them must have the right through the union representation to say their word when issues of peace, security, and disarmament are being discussed in the united nations and other specialized agencies," he said.

Fedotov said it is essential for the union to retain membership in the Security Council during the transitional period "as a responsible member of the international community, as a major military and nuclear power, and as an active participant in this ongoing process of disarmament and peaceful settlement of conflict."

### Israel Plans To Recognize Baltic States

*OW0509161391 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1400 GMT 4 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday evening the Israeli Government recognized the independence of the three Baltic states and announced plans to establish diplomatic relations with them.

## Estonia

### Ruutel on Soviet Recognition of Independence

*LD0509161491 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] Official recognition of Estonia's state independence by Moscow will enable the republic to attain civil peace and internal stability. A statement to this effect was made by the chairman of Estonia's Supreme Soviet Arnold Ruutel in a press interview.

After such recognition, Mr. Ruutel stressed, a status for USSR armed forces on Estonian territory would be determined. In Mr. Ruutel's opinion when this problem is decided it should be taken into account that Estonia would become, together with Latvia and Lithuania, a neutral zone between East and West.

### Lobov, Officials Discuss Army's Status

*LD0509104991 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0600 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] Another round of talks took place on the evening of 4 September between delegations of the Republic of Estonia Government and of the USSR general staff. The delegations were led by Edgar Savisaar, prime minister of the Republic of Estonia, and Army General Vladimir Lobov, USSR chief of general staff. Measures to determine the status of the USSR Armed Forces on the territory of the Republic of Estonia were discussed, as were measures for the withdrawal of military units from Estonia. The handing over of civil defense system and units to the Republic of Estonia Government was also discussed.

The parties noted the need for further work on several complex issues as well as on differences of opinion in approach. The next round of talks will take place on 5 September.

## Status of Soviet Border Troops Determined

*OW0509115791 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1120 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday Prime Minister of Estonia Edar Savisaar, Chief of the USSR KGB Vadim Bakatin and Commander of the USSR KGB border troops, Colonel-General Ilya Kalinchenko signed an agreement on the temporary status of USSR KGB border troops on the Estonian territory. The agreement is based on the August 20 declaration of Estonia's independence.

Under the agreement, Estonia and USSR commit themselves to guard jointly the Baltic coast, the sea border and the Estonian economic zone, as well as to control the border posts until an interstate treaty is signed. As soon as the treaty is concluded, the Soviet border troops will give up guarding Estonia's Baltic coast. The Soviet Union is due to present a schedule for the withdrawal of its border troops from Estonia.

Estonia plans to introduce its own visas, which will be temporarily granted to people crossing the western border at the sea ports and airports of Estonia. Currently, Soviet, Latvian and Lithuanian visas are temporarily in force on the western border.

According to the agreement, a group of Soviet specialists is to come to Estonia to train personnel for the Estonian Home Defense Department. Within 15 days after the signing of the agreement a joint Soviet-Estonian commission is to be formed to control its implementation.

### Further on Agreement

*LD0509102191 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0600 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] On 4 September a temporary agreement was signed by Edgar Savisaar, Estonian prime minister; Vadim Bakatin, head of the USSR KGB, and Colonel General Ilya Kalinchenko, commander of USSR border guard troops, with respect to resolving border issues and the functioning of the USSR border guard structures on the territory of the republic. The parties adopted the 20 August republic of Estonia Supreme Council resolution on the independence of the republic of Estonia as the basis. With the treaty the Soviet side recognizes the inalienable and lawful right of the republic of Estonia to take any measures in order to ensure inviolability of her state borders. All institutions which have been set up by the Estonian government for that purpose are also recognized. The agreement determines the organizing of the guarding of the western border of the republic of Estonia, including the sea border, and the gradual takeover of this by the Estonian borderguard service. According to the agreement the USSR side will present within a month to the republic of Estonia government a timescale for withdrawing USSR border forces from Estonia. Visas issued by the republic of Estonia are recognized as well as each other's transit visas. Opportunities will be created for the Estonian border guard service to use the technical means, communications, and information currently at the disposal of USSR border guard forces. The Soviet side takes it upon itself to assist in training Estonian border guards. A combined commission was set up to resolve any issues resulting from the agreement.

## Temporary Visa Regulations Adopted

*LD0609053991 Tallinn Estonian Television Network in Estonian 1830 GMT 2 Sep 91*

[Excerpts] The Republic of Estonia's government session that took place today discussed the government's action program. [passage omitted]

[Begin Estonian Deputy Foreign Minister Rein Mullerson recording—identified by caption] Consular officials of the Estonian foreign Ministry, as well as persons authorized by the foreign Ministry, have the right to issue visas for entry into the Republic of Estonia. Until a corresponding resolution is adopted, visas issued by the USSR consular department are valid for entry into the Republic of Estonia. To resolve issues connected with the issue of visas, workers of the republican foreign Ministry will start work at both Tallinn airport and the passenger harbor. They have been authorized to issue all kinds of visas on the basis of the above. [end recording]

In Mr. Mullerson's opinion, Estonia will have to use honorary consuls extensively, because we have no money to set up real consulates. Working representations, however, must first and foremost be set up in new York, Geneva, and Brussels, where the headquarters of major world organizations are located. [video shows government news conference, with ministers on one side of a table and journalists on the other]

## Date Established for Introduction of Currency

*OW0509191891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1600 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The President of the Bank of Estonia, Rein Otsason, said in an interview with the newspaper, "Paevaleht", that a date had already been set for the introduction of fiscal reform and of the new Estonian currency, the Estonian Crown.

However, he said, this information is not for public release. Estonian Crowns continue to be printed abroad and molds have been produced for the manufacture of coins at the Tallinn jewelry factory.

## New People's Center Party Formed

*LD0509204491 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1400 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Excerpts] The Estonian news agency ETA reports that during these days so crucial for Estonia's fate, a People's

Center Party is about to be founded with a countrywide organization. The party is already being formed in towns and districts. Their statement has been signed—among 20 politicians—by Edgar Savisaar, Rein Taagepera [professor at the University of California], Kullo Arjakas, Ignar Fjuk, Mati Hint, Ott Kool, Enn Leisson, Ants Paju, Rein Tamme, Uno Ugandi, Heinz Valk [all are Supreme Council deputies, with the exception of Taagepera, Hint, and Kool], and others.

It says that the People's Center Party originates largely from the People's Front, like several already established parties, and it is ready for extensive cooperation with all centrist forces, notes ETA. [passage omitted]

Those who join the People's Center Party are expected to be politically honest and not cover up for their political biographies. The new party is open to anyone who has not harmed Estonia and the Estonian people consciously with their actions. [passage omitted]

### German, Czech Foreign Officials To Visit

*OW0509212491 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1730 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Estonian Foreign Ministry Press Service has reported that several foreign government officials are expected to visit Estonia in mid-September.

A delegation, led by Hans Dietrich Genscher, from the Federal Republic of Germany is due to arrive on September 11th and on 14th the US Secretary of State, James Baker, is expected to visit.

The Czecho-Slovak Foreign Minister, Jiri Dienstbier, will arrive on September 9th.

### Norwegian Delegation Meets Ruutel

*PM0509154691 Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 3 Sep 91 p 8*

[Elisabeth Holte report: "Estonia Interested in Oil From Norway"]

[Excerpt] Tallinn—"If a situation arises in which the Soviet Union cannot or will not meet its commitments as an oil supplier to Estonia, we would like to be able to receive supplies from Norway on a commercial basis," Estonian President Arnold Ruutel said yesterday.

It was yesterday morning that the Estonian president received the Norwegian Foreign Ministry delegation headed by Ambassador Kjell Colding for an hour-long meeting in the presidential palace in the 17th century Kadriorg Park, named after Peter I's wife, Ekaterina. At the meeting Ruutel and Colding raised both international and Norwegian-Estonian issues, not least Estonia's future relations with the Soviet Union and the Russian Republic.

At present the Estonia Government's days are hectic, with a constant stream of foreign delegations either investigating the situation or establishing the first diplomatic contacts, or ambassadors handing over their letters of accreditation. The Swedish ambassador is already at work. The German ambassador submitted his letters of accreditation yesterday, and the new Danish ambassador to the Baltic region will hand over his papers to Ruutel tomorrow.

It is easy to imagine the somewhat operetta-like and fluid situation which arises in a country in which there are only two foreign policy aides in the presidential palace and in which the Foreign Ministry is continually employing new people to keep its head above water. For example, at the end of last week the Estonians sent off their application for UN membership with French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas—if you do not have the machinery yourself, you have to make use of those who drop by! And yesterday afternoon it was "Norra"—Norway in Estonian—whose turn it was to take a seat at President Ruutel's huge table.

In the first 20 minutes of the meeting with the Norwegian delegation Ruutel described Estonia's objectives regarding integration in the European and the international community. It goes without saying that Estonia will retain its economic ties to the east with the Soviet Union, but it also wants to enter European cooperation, although the president did not go into any details. After the meeting was over, however, President Ruutel told AFTENPOSTEN that he hopes that the greatest possible number of international financial institutions, such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, will admit Estonia as a member.

Asked whether Estonia will develop into a socialist or social democratic country, Ruutel replied that he is convinced that Estonian society will develop along the same lines now, with a European economy, a European culture, and a European ideology, with the economy based on market forces, like Estonia before 1940. But the road to this is long.

As far as future bilateral Norwegian-Estonian cooperation is concerned, the president is especially interested—in addition to oil supplies—in cooperation projects in the manufacture of fish-processing machinery and agricultural machinery, such as stone-picking machinery.

When Ambassador Colding asked Ruutel how he views future relations with the Soviet Union in the political and military fields, the Estonian president attached special importance to the gradual withdrawal of the Soviet forces stationed in the country. This applied in particular to the most dangerous of these, the paratroops, which he hoped would be out within six months. After than he wants the removal of various types of long-range combat aircraft and offensive arms, including nuclear arms, if there are any deployed on Estonian territory, as he put it. Before the end of two years he also wants the large-scale Soviet antiaircraft installations and surveillance systems removed, but he conceded that such things are both expensive and difficult to dismantle, and that such dismantling is something that takes time.

Today Colding and his delegation travel on to the Latvian capital, Riga, and then on to Vilnius in Lithuania to attend similar meetings with the two countries' political leaderships. After their round trip the delegation will draft a report which will form the basis for government decisions about how in practice Norway will organize its diplomatic presence and its cooperation with the Baltic countries. [passage omitted]

### Diplomatic Relations With Canada Restored

*LD0509132691 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1700 GMT 4 Sep 91*

[Text] ETA reports that Estonian Economic Minister Jaak Leimann and Michael Wilson, Canadian minister of industry, science, technology, and foreign trade, signed an agreement to restore diplomatic relations between Estonia and Canada. At a news conference which followed the signing, Michael Wilson said that evidently Canada will be represented in Estonia by one of the embassies located in Scandinavia. A large delegation, made up of representatives of ministries and business circles, accompanied the Canadian minister in the Baltic states. Possibilities for Estonian-Canadian economic cooperation were discussed with the Estonian Ministry of the Economy and with leaders of the foreign trade department.

### Communist Party Official Assesses Coup

*AU0409131591 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 3 Sep 91 p 3*

[Interview with Yevgeniy Kogan, an Estonian communist deputy and leading representative of the Soyuz group, by Jaromir Stetina; in Moscow, date not given: "The Reichstag According to Kogan"]

[Text] On 28 August, Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy and Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Chairman Leonid Kravchuk signed a joint communique designed to stabilize mutual relations between the two countries. Soon afterwards, Rutskoy flew to Alma Ata and signed a similar communique with Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev. The phrase "former Soviet Union" is used for the first time in both communiques. Prior to Congress of People's Deputies session on 2 September—during a break at the extraordinary Soviet parliament session—a LIDOVE NOVINY correspondent [Stetina] asked Yevgeniy Kogan, a communist deputy from Estonia and a leading representative of the Soyuz deputies' group, to reply to the following questions: What does the activity of "flying" Colonel Rutskoy mean? Does the Soviet Union still exist after the signing of these communiques? Now, 14 days after the coup, the forces that emphasize a tough solution to the situation are becoming active again. Y. Kogan's reply to our questions was (to put it mildly) alarming.

[Kogan] No one has changed the Constitution. There is a deputies' forum, the USSR Supreme Soviet. Rutskoy has no authority from anyone to talk about the former Soviet Union. A genuine coup d'etat is taking place here today. Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] structures are trying to suppress Union structures. They are trying to take over the Supreme Soviet and the USSR Government. At the same time, they have the cheek to talk about a legal way of doing so. Hold a referendum in Russia on withdrawing from the Union. You will see what will happen. They are all afraid of a referendum. An all-Union referendum was held on 17 March—three quarters of the people were in favor of preserving the Union. They gave the people an opportunity to speak their minds and now they do not know how to tear the people's opinion out at the roots. They are afraid of their own people. All of Rutskoy's flying diplomatic missions throw some light on Boris Yeltsin's most secret desires. He wants to take over, he wants to take over very much.... At the same time, he is—to a certain extent—responsible for the situation the country is in. Let me remind you of his declarations, his absolutely anticonstitutional declarations, such as the one with which he assumed the Union president's authority and took control of all the Union armed forces.... He knew very well that he was violating the USSR and RSFSR Constitutions. The conspiracy of the 18 or 21 August is child's play in comparison to what he did.

Yeltsin issued decrees in which he appointed his plenipotentiaries to the ministries. The ministers are obliged to work under their direction. This is a pure violation of the law and the Constitution.

First of all, a Presidential Council was set up; they tried to transfer Supreme Soviet functions to it. They were unsuccessful and they dissolved it. They established a Security Council and again they wanted to transfer Supreme Soviet functions to it. Once more they were unsuccessful. They set up a Federation Council and the situation repeats itself. Only one issue is involved here—an attempt to assume power from the elected organs. That is, to hand over power to the Federation Council as if it was some kind of boyar duma [aristocratic assembly in tsarist Russia] or a council of non-ruling princes.

They will never rid themselves of their responsibility for violating the Constitution. Many people are being intimidated today, but history will call everything by its right name. I look at those bright young men who touched power and I see how they are monopolizing it for themselves. They are locking up people's deputies. They are using physical violence against some of them. Several dozen are in prison in Moldava, deputies in Estonia are searched, in Latvia they are locked up without an order from the prosecutor.... Is this democracy? Psychological terror is on the increase in the country and there are instances of physical terror.... These are such blows to our people that, within a few decades, the word democrat will sound like an insult.

They say that I almost organized a conspiracy. Along with the entire Soyuz deputies' group, I stood up and said that only a state of emergency can save the country. I do not trust Gorbachev and I have never concealed this fact. I even told him this straight to his face. The country has been destroyed by six years of perestroyka. The "nine plus one" agreement, intended to destroy the Constitution and dissolve the Supreme Soviet, was also a conspiracy aimed at overthrowing the current regime. President Gorbachev, enjoined by his status to protect the Constitution, signed a document on destroying the Constitution. In our country there is no article in our legal code pertaining to a conspiracy against the state, but we do have a paragraph on treason.... Do you know what they are calling recent events in our country? The burning of the Reichstag. If a motion concerning lack of confidence in the president is brought up at the congress, I will vote in favor of it.

[Stetina] When we said goodbye, Y. Kogan said: "There are even Germans in the Baltic republics." "What Germans?," I asked. "They have established diplomatic ties with Estonia." "Czechoslovakia has also recognized the Baltic republics," I said. "Good. We will now recognize Slovak independence," said Y. Kogan as he got into the elevator. The doors closed behind him.

## Latvia

### Gorbachev Invites Gorbunovs To State Council

*LD0509173891 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1600 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] We go now to the Supreme Council press center, where Anta Busa reports.

[Busa] Good evening! There have been several important events at the Latvian Supreme Council.

At 1734 a telegram arrived for Anatolijs Gorbunovs from Mikhail Gorbachev. Will you permit me to read it in Russian:

[In Russian] At 1000 on 6 September 1991, there will be a sitting of the State Council in the Kremlin at which it is intended to discuss the following questions:

1. On an address concerning the recognition of independence of the Baltic republics.

2. On raising the salaries of officers and other categories of servicemen and improving their social security provisions.

3. On a proposal of the Committee for Operational Running of the National Economy of the USSR on hard currency and monetary questions.

I request you take part in it.

[In Latvian] Signed: Mikhail Gorbachev.

The Latvian Supreme Council Presidium, during its sitting, adopted a resolution without delay in which the leader of the People's Front of Latvia faction, Janis Dinevics, and the authorized representative in Moscow of the Latvian Council of Ministers, Janis Peters, are authorized to participate in the work of that sitting in Moscow.

### Gorbunovs Receives Message From Bush

*LD0509192991 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1730 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Curtis Kamman, who arrived in Latvia today, signed, together with Latvian First Deputy Foreign Minister Martins Virsis, a memorandum on mutual understanding, a document which testifies to the restoration of diplomatic relations between Latvia and the United States.

Curtis Kamman handed Latvian Supreme Council Chairman Anatolijs Gorbunovs a personal message from U.S. President George Bush expressing satisfaction on the restoration of the state independence of the republic. According to the message, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker will arrive in Riga next week.

### Godmanis Meets U.S. Congress Delegation in Riga

*LD0509195191 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1730 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] A delegation of the U.S. Congress, led by Steny Hoyer, chairman of the Commission for Security and Cooperation in Europe, today arrived in Riga. The congressmen met Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis, and Supreme Council Chairman Anatolijs Gorbunovs. At a brief news conference the U.S. representatives announced that diplomatic relations between the United States and Latvia will be established in the nearest future. They intend to go to Moscow and to apply to USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev with an appeal to recognize the independence of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia without delay.

According to the words of Steny Hoyer, Latvia may realistically hope for U.S. economic aid to the extent of $5 million.

As the chairman of the Supreme Council of Latvia said, the West is itself interested in giving economic aid to the independent Baltic states.

### UK's Hogg Meets With Gorbunovs; Aid Discussed

*LD0509204291 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0800 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Excerpts] Possible aid from Britain to Latvia, when it has returned to various international organizations, was discussed today at a meeting between Supreme Council Chairman Anatolijs Gorbunovs and British Foreign

Office represenatative Douglas Hogg. Among those organizations and institutions are the United Nations, the IMF, the Helsinki process mechanism, and GATT. Britain and France, as permanent members of the UN Organization, are prepared to support the Baltic states' request for acceptance into this organization.

As the British Foreign Office representative said today to correspondents at the Latvian Supreme Council, Latvia could be incorporated into the United Nations by the end of this year. [passage omitted] In turn, the question of Baltic participation in the Helsinki process mechanism could be solved in January next year, when the next full meeting is scheduled. Britain also supports the idea of Baltic state associate membership in the EC. However, Douglas Hogg pointed out that similar talks currently going on with Hungary and Poland on membership (?are going slowly) and are involved with a huge amount of technical detail. All this is because the economies of Poland and Hungary are in a more unique position, said Hogg, than the Baltic economies.

With regard to the IMF, Hogg said there are a number of technical criteria which must be fulfilled, which cannot be circumvented, but at the moment there is in principle agreement in the West on Baltic participation. During the next two or three weeks a British delegation is due in Latvia to work on the technical aspects of offering assistance, as well as the matter of restoring the British diplomatic mission. British diplomats can be expected in Latvia at the beginning of next year.

Answering the inevitable question about the Baltic gold in Britain, Hogg stated that the British side fully appreciates the (?existence) of this problem. The Baltic gold (?some 10) years ago was handed over to the Soviet Union, arranging a large gold [word indistinct] there was no [word indistinct]. That decision was made by the socialist Wilson government of the time. Obviously this question will be discussed with all speed; a delegation of Latvian officials is soon to be expected in London. [passage omitted]

Tomorrow afternoon the British representative will meet with various Latvian Government ministers, but in the afternoon he will go on to Tallinn, the Estonian capital, where on Friday he will conclude his visit to the Baltic states.

## Republic Control Exercised Over Customs Sites

*LD0509182591 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0530 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] All USSR Customs sites on Latvian territory have been fully taken into Latvian control, a LETA correspondent was told yesterday by Aivars Salins, director general of the Customs Department at the Council of Ministers. USSR Customs officers must decide by 6 September whether to remain in service with Latvian Customs or to change jobs.

Aivars Salins said that, regarding Latvian, Lithuanian, Estonian, and foreign citizens, the standard documents and tax laws of the Republic apply on Latvian territory, which to a large extent must correspond to those applying in the USSR. In turn, in relation to Latvian citizens in Estonia and Lithuania, their customs standards apply.

After the attainment of a Baltic customs union, standards will be the same in all three republics. As regards security forces from the Soviet Union, at the moment, USSR Customs standards continue to apply.

## Personnel Trained To Protect Baltic Borders

*LD0609024191 Moscow TASS in English 2054 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Zaytsev]

[Text] Riga September 5 TASS—Training of personnel to guard the borders of the Latvian Republic has begun in Riga, Ventspils and Liepaja, commander of the Baltic border district formations Lieutenant General Valentin Gaponenko said today.

This became possible after the Baltic republics, which had declared their independence, signed corresponding agreements with the command of the border forces of the Soviet State Security Committee.

At first, the border will be protected by both Soviet and Baltic border guards.

The registration of border guard volunteers began only a week ago in Latvia. A draft law, "On the Border Guard Service," is now under consideration in the republican Supreme Soviet.

There had been only 30 volunteers by September 2, the DIENA newspaper reports.

According to Gaponenko, the terms and details of the transition of all the Latvian border (same as of that of Lithuania and Estonia) under the republican control should be established by inter-state and inter-governmental treaties.

People from republican border guard formations have appeared at some border posts. "However, it is premature to speak about their joint protection of the frontier," noted Gaponenko. "One can just describe it as a kind of training."

## Military Conscription Reportedly To Begin

*OW0509211391 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1730 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Latvian press has reported that in order to effect the joint manning, with Soviet troops, of the Latvian border, which has already been agreed by both sides, the republic will issue call-up papers to no less than

1,000 people. A similar number of young men will be called up to guard prisons since it has also been agreed that the functions of internal forces are to be transferred to the Latvian Ministry of the Interior. In addition the republic needs an extra 2,000 police. It is proposed to fill half of these vacancies by means of conscription.

### Property Rights of Foreign Nationals Recognized

*OW0509221991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2102 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Latvia recognizes the rights of foreign physical and juridical persons to the property nationalised on its territory after Latvia [was] annexed by the Soviet Union.

In accordance with a ruling passed by Latvian parliament on Wednesday [4 September], the procedure for the return of property will be defined by a special law that is currently in the works.

### Relations With Switzerland Restored

*LD0609085491 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1730 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Summary] The Latvian Government has accepted the Swiss Government's proposal to restore diplomatic relations, and envoys will be exchanged in the near future.

## Lithuania

### President Landsbergis Welcomes Soviet Recognition

*AU0609105891 Paris AFP in English 1013 GMT 6 Sep 91*

[Excerpt] Vilnius, Lithuania, Sep 6 (AFP)—Moscow's recognition of the independence of the three Baltic republics was "very welcome", Lithuania's President Vytautas Landsbergis said here Friday.

"This decision is very welcome, and positive in every aspect not only for Lithuania and the Baltic republics, but also for all the international community," he told journalists in the parliament building.

Landsbergis heard the news from Moscow while meeting an envoy from the United States, Under Secretary of State Curtis Karmann.

The president refused further comment until he saw the text of Moscow's declaration. [passage omitted]

### Vagnorius Sends Message to KGB Investigation

*LD0509230491 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2130 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] The press bureau of the Lithuanian government reports that Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius has sent a telegram to Chairman of the Soviet Union's State Commission on investigating the activity of the KGB. The telegram points out that the Vilnius military garrison has provided shelter to the leaders of the Lithuanian Communist Party, Mykolas Burokevicius and [word indistinct name] Naudziunas, who backed up by deputy chairman of the KGB in Lithuania, Taplin, were actively involved in the organization of the military coups in January and in August. The Lithuanian government therefore asks to assist the competent bodies of the republic to arrest the people suspected of having committed grave crimes against the State who are hiding in military units.

This telegram by Gediminas Vagnorius is a reply to 30th August request by the Chairman of the above Soviet commission to assist the latter in its activity and in exchanging information. The Lithuanian Prime Minister's telegram also points out that the republic's law-and-order bodies are investigating the activity of the branches of the Soviet KGB, the Interior and Defense Ministries in Lithuania during this coup, and are prepared if necessary, to render assistance to the relevant Soviet bodies.

Gediminas Vagnorius informed the Soviet commission that deputy chief of the Baltic Military District, General Ovcharov, and deputy chief of the Soviet Union's airborne troops, General Petrauskas, were suspected as having been the coordinators of the anti-State actions of the military in Lithuania.

### Vagnorius Announces Pursuit of Economic Reforms

*OW0509212591 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1730 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At a press conference in Vilnius on September 5th Lithuanian Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius announced that Lithuania is now very actively pursuing economic reforms. He said that by the end of the year between 30 and 40 percent of institutions which had previously belonged to the state would be privatised. It is also planned to introduce market prices before the end of the year.

### Vagnorius States Currency Already Printed

*PM0509155591 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Sep 91 p 1*

[Report from "RIA and TASS reports" roundup: "Did You Hear? Did You Read?"]

[Text] Lithuania already has printed paper money and minted coins, Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius said. But he said that the introduction of lits and cents into circulation is impossible at the moment because of difficulties over transactions with USSR republics where inflation is high.

## Vagnorius Meets Finnish Ambassador

*LD0609055391 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2130 GMT 4 Sep 91*

[Text] The Lithuanian Premier, Gediminas Vagnorius today met the representative of Finland's Foreign Ministry, Ambassador Jaakko Kaurinkoski. The Finnish representative informed the Lithuanian premier that his country's Government was prepared to appoint its permanent ambassador to Lithuania in the nearest time. They also discussed issues concerning the Expansion of bilateral relations. The Finnish ambassador told the Lithuanian premier that concrete cooperation issues, as well as the construction of an international highway via the Baltic states, would be discussed by a spcial Finnish delegation due to arrive in Lithuania I a couple of weeks.

## Appeal Issued for Soldiers To Serve in Republic

*LD0509221791 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1832 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] The Government of the Republic of Lithuania has appealed to it citizens serving in the Soviet Union's armed forces as officers and enlisted men.

We have restored independent Lithuania. One of the most important conditions for the existence of a free and democratic state is a well-organized defense. Each citizen of the Republic of Lithuania with experience in the armed forces and who is ready to serve Lithuania is needed.

The Republic of Lithuania's gOvernment will preserve social guarantees and ranks of officers and enlisted men returning from service in the Soviet Union's armed forces who are determined to serve for Lithuania's benefit. Their pensions will be paid irrespective of which state they served.

Dear compatriots, the Government of the Republic of Lithuania appeals to you to return to Lithuania and serve for its wellbeing and honor.

## Calls for Armed Forces Officers To Return

*LD0609095591 Moscow TASS in English 0948 GMT 6 Sep 91*

[By TASS correspondent Razys Uscila]

[Text] Vilnius September 6 TASS—The Lithuanian Government has called on all republic's citizens serving in the Soviet Armed Forces as officers to "return to Lithuania and serve for its welfare and glory".

The government also said it was planning to retain social guarantees, ranks and pensions to officers, who return and devote themselves to serving Lithuania's welfare.

## Deputy Announces Dissolution of Local Councils

*LD0509224391 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Polish 1925 GMT 4 Sep 91*

[Text] Virgilijus Cepaitis, chairman of the commission for the rights of citizens and nationalities of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, is at the microphone.

[Cepaitis] Today the Supreme Council adopted a decision which supplements the decision of 22 August on Salcininkai rayon and the town of Snieckus. Today's Supreme Council session adopted a very important supplement that suspends the work of the council in Salcininkai and in Vilnius rayon and also in the town of Snieckus for some period of time, and then, I think, new elections will take place.

Why was this done, respected listeners? As you know, the military putsch that took place not a long time ago and that you witnessed, began in Lithuania last January and not in August. At that time the rayons in Vilnius and Salcininkai adopted a completely different stand toward the Republic of Lithuania and toward our laws.

A USSR referendum was held, which was illegal on the territory of Lithuania. Here the Vilnius land cooperated with the commercial bank in Naujoji Vilnia which was prohibited in Lithuania. I am not going to mention everything. The most important thing was that, in fact, it was some kind of a reserve of that old Soviet system, and the partocracy was governing here as in the past. Even such simple matters as the distribution of land to the peasants which has been taking place all over Lithuania, there was no talk here about privatization which is currently starting in Lithuania. [sentence as heard] Simply, the whole life in these rayons is very backward compared with what has been achieved during the one and a half years of independence in Lithuania.

And when the Supreme council adopted this decision, we think that the time will come, hopefully soon, when new elections will take place in these two rayons.

I, as a deputy of the Supreme Council, appeal to you all to think now about which people you would like to elect to the new council, which people would best represent your interests. It is better currently to think about the future. I believe that the Lithuanian Government is doing everything to prevent the disorganization of trade or economic activity on the collective and state farms and to continue normal life.

In conclusion, I appeal to you once more to think about the future and the people for whom you would vote for in the coming elections.

Thank you for your attention.

## Vilnius, Salcininkai Councils Dissolved

*LD0509133291 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1100 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] Despite protests from the Polish group, the Lithuanian Supreme Council has decided to dissolve the regional councils of the Vilnius and Soleczniki [Polish name for Salcininkai] regions and the town of Snieckus. The Polish group left the hall during the vote. During the debate, accusations were levelled against the councils that in March this year, they decided to participate in the Soviet referendum and agreed to conscripts serving in the Soviet Army. The Poles were accused of travelling with their grievances against the Lithuanian authorities either to Warsaw or Moscow. According to deputies in the Polish group, the Lithuanian Supreme Council made the decision in haste. In accordance with Lithuanian law, a motion on the dissolution of the councils can be submitted only by specially appointed commissions, which can prove that the accusations levelled against the councils are justified. Such a commission has been appointed, but it has not yet submitted motions.

## Polish Faction Quits Council Session

*LD0609090191 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1600 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Excerpts] The extraordinary session of the Supreme Council ended today. The council adjourned until 10 September, when deputies will assemble for the fourth session.

At the conclusion of this session, Vytautas Landsbergis noted that it was taking place at an exceptional time when more states are recognizing Lithuania's independence. [passage omitted]. Vytautas Landsbergis invited deputies to take part in the 8 September day of thanksgiving for Lithuanian's freedom:

At the morning session, Deputy Ryszard Maciejkianiec, who spoke on behalf of the Polish faction, demanded that the decision, adopted yesterday, be revoked. This decision suspended the Vilnius and Salcininkai rayon councils and the Snieckus settlement council. When the deputies did not support this demand to debate the issue, the Polish faction left the hall.

Deputy Eugenijus Petrovas,on behalf of the commission for the local government affairs, submitted a draft decision on the introduction of direct rule in the Vilnius and Salcininkai rayons and in the Snieckus settlement. The Polish faction once again stated that if yesterday's decision is not revoked, it will appeal to international organizations. The deputies of this faction reserve the right not to take part in further parliament work.

Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis expressed his regret at the exacerbation of the situation, because, in yesterday's conversation with the Polish faction, it seemed that a mutual understanding had been reached. The chairman invited the deputies to be inclined toward cooperation and not to confrontation.

Debates started on the issue, many proposals were submitted. Unfortunately, the proposal by Deputy Petrovas was not adopted. [passage omitted]

## Yeltsin Meets Catalan Prime Minister

*LD0509212691 Madrid TVE Internacional Television in Spanish 1900 GMT 2 Sep 91*

[Text] This evening Jordi Pujol, prime minister of the Autonomous Catalan government, had talks in Moscow with Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin. Pujol is in the Soviet capital to take part in a seminar organized by the world economic forum on the transformation of the USSR into a market economy. Xavier Sitja reports.

[Sitja] Prime Minister Jordi Pujol is one of the first foreign politicians to have talks with Boris Yeltsin after the coup. According to Pujol, Boris Yeltsin is delighted with the transformation which the Soviet people have undergone, and hopes that this will prove very useful for stabilizing democracy.

Boris Yeltsin and Jordi Pujol have had good relations since the Russian president had an operation for [words indistinct] in Barcelona 3 years ago. Today Pujol congratulated Yeltsin not only for his resistance during the coup, but for his fighting spirit over a long period of time. According to the Catalan prime minister, Yeltsin conveys great optimism. [video shows Yeltsin and Pujol shaking hands, seated at opposite sides of a table]

[Begin Pujol recording] I felt that through Yeltsin, a situation was expressed, not only a political or institutional one, but a positive basic attitude of the country. From what he said furthermore about President Gorbachev—with whom, as he was explaining to us, he is at present in contact every day, once or twice every day, and has very close collaboration—of course it seems, well (?one deduces), that President Gorbachev totally shares this state of mind. [end recording]

[Sitja] The Russian president is satisfied that the USSR Congress of Deputies today approved the interrepublican bodies which will conduct the transition. According to Yeltsin, the new Supreme Soviet will be formed by prestigious representatives of the republics, and its decisions will carry great weight.

## Yeltsin Approves Statute on Representatives

*LD0509170291 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] The RSFSR [Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic] president has confirmed the temporary statute on his representatives in krays, oblasts, autonomous oblasts, autonomous okrugs, and the cities of Moscow and Leningrad. They will ensure the RSFSR president's interaction with local organs of power and self-government and with public associations and citizens, and promote the implementation of his decisions in the relevant territories. Confirmation has also been given to the temporary statute on the RSFSR president's representative missions in the republics inside the Russian Federation. These documents will be published in full in the press.

## Silayev Interviewed on Current Role of Republic

*PM0409204791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Sep 91 Union Edition pp 1, 2*

[Interview with Ivan Silayev, Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic prime minister, by Aleksandra Lugovskaya; first paragraph is author's introduction; place and date not given: "Ivan Silayev Believes We Will Not Go Under"]

[Text] Everyone has their own view on what is now happening at the Congress. And they have their own reaction, too. The well-known U.S. journalist, Bill Keller, who has represented THE NEW YORK TIMES in Moscow for four years, asked me in amazement: "Look at what a country we've got? It is not a country, but a territory." I admit that his "we've" did not surprise me one bit. It seems that everything in politics has become topsy-turvy and things are even less clear, whereas in the economy... All the republics have agreed that they need one another. President Gorbachev set up the Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy by decree on 24 August, a committee headed by Russian Prime Minister I. Silayev. We met Ivan Stepanovich late in the evening on 3 September. Here are the details from the horse's mouth:

[Silayev] Until a permanent interrepublic economic committee is formed once and for all, we intend to keep the economy functioning and concern ourselves primarily with providing the people at least with food and consumer goods and helping them survive the winter.

[Lugovskaya] The people? Or are we talking about the peoples now?

[Silayev] You are right to make the distinction. I mean the citizens of what was the Union—we will say that for the time being—and, of course, the citizens of every republic. We are equally concerned for everyone, although there have been recriminations directed at the Russian leadership and suspicions regarding our "imperial ways." The committee was formed rapidly and, naturally, the main workload fell on me. It is only natural for six members of the Russian government to be on the committee. At the time I was simply unable to suggest other candidates. Sensing the other committee members' concern, I suggested there should be just one "vote"—mine—from Russia on any decisions. This eliminated any tension. We are adopting documents on any matter in record time—three days—even if there are alternative opinions.

[Lugovskaya] Has the hard experience in the Russian government been beneficial?

[Silayev] Yes, Russia inherited most of the former central structures. There was furious resistance to our programs and laws, but we gained experience in understanding economic processes, defined our position in the main areas of our activity, and by and large formulated a program. It has already begun to be called the Yeltsin-Silayev program. This undoubtedly helped me to form the committee. During my talks with republic leaders, I knew in advance whom they would suggest for the working team [rabochiy sostav], and I was not mistaken, because we were all fighting our way through at the same time, acting alone occasionally and occasionally pooling efforts, while the Novo-Ogarevo processes not only united the heads of state but also the heads of our governments. We had common obstacles and dead-end situations. When this burden was abruptly cast aside by the putschists, our lives became considerably easier. Our programs have many similarities. President Nazarbayev noted this with regard to Kazakhstan and Russia; I myself can see that our program is consonant with the Ukraine and Belorussia; that is, we are coauthors. Until recently we put a great deal of effort into overcoming opposition; we will now put our energies into construction. That is the great advantage, the fundamentally new quality of our relations—relations unlike the center's imperial directives to its recalcitrant vassals. We were governed rigidly, sometimes harshly, and we were told that we were heading in the wrong direction destroying the Union. The people who said this are no longer there, while the republics have held out.

[Lugovskaya] Ivan Stepanovich, I would like to come back to the concrete actions taken by the operational committee.

[Silayev] We have already adopted a resolution on providing the population with food and discussed matters relating to the fuel and energy complex. Our immediate plans include maintaining direct links between enterprises and shaping the 1992 physical balance. There is the prospect of restoring relations through market methods. A. Bektemisov, deputy chairman of the Kazakh Council of Ministers, who is well known to those dealing in physical resources, is in charge of this. Analyzing the balances, we are now determining the weak spots and sending economic aid and support to production collectives ranging from private to large state collectives. We are endeavoring to ensure that they begin to function successfully, primarily via market structures and with the minimum state order. We make no distinctions on the committee and sometimes forget during the debates who is a full-fledged member and who is an observer. The interests of all 15 republics coincide, by and large.

[Lugovskaya] You have frequently stressed that the Committee for Operational Management is a temporary structure and that its leaders—Silayev, Yavlinskiy, Volskiy, and Luzhkov—have no aspirations.

[Silayev] We want it to be understood that selfish interests are alien to us. We have come to support the USSR president and help the republics. And we have no claims to a "cushy number."

[Lugovskaya] On ethical grounds?

[Silayev] Yes. But there is something else in it for me personally. I spent a whole year working with the Russian legislature, its president, and the Council of Ministers. It was the best year of my life. I succeeded in serving Russia and helping it get up off its knees and straighten itself out. During the tragic days of 19-21 August, the people and I helped it to cleanse itself of the filth that bound us hand and foot. We defended our own future. I had the trust of Russia, the people, President Yeltsin, and the parliament; I have no civil or human right to withdraw now, although I know that things will be difficult and upheavals are still possible.

[Lugovskaya] As a Russian, I too do not want to see you "pushed out," but Russia does not live in a vacuum and its future depends in many respects on how relations develop now with the republics. Political instability may ruin everything. What guarantee is there that this will not happen?

[Silayev] True, it is a difficult situation. I found it very strange, however, to hear an appeal made at the congress to the USSR president and to Russia concerning recognition of the independence proclaimed by a number of republics. Independence from whom? Why should Russia recognize this as if it also is some kind of foreign state? Everyone is independent, while Russia is dependent on someone. I see this as a throwback to the previous, unjust recriminations against and suspicions of Russia's imperial ambitions. I think this suspicion is simply inappropriate. In human terms, as a Russian I was sure that we had eliminated it when we were not broken during the putsch after being isolated for some time. The West backed us and helped us communicate with our own people when we were totally cut off. In my view, for this alone we deserve not to be suspected of anything. Naturally, one cannot fail to see Russia's real role in the old Union's economy, just as one cannot fail to see that it will continue to play a major role in the Union.

[Lugovskaya] In other words, it is wrong not to take advantage of Russia's goodwill?

[Silayev] Yes, undoubtedly. There is our goodwill, and President Yeltsin said this once again at the Congress—with great dignity, moreover.

[Lugovskaya] What kind words would you like to say to ordinary people today? After all, they feel like grains of sands in this chaos.

[Silayev] No, these "grains of sand" responded to our call and stood their ground in front of tanks and armored personnel carriers. Russians displayed patriotism, civic spirit, nobility, and supreme integrity—and we thank them for it. Do not let them feel like "grains of sand." They are building the new Russian society and defending Russia. I am not empowered to talk about the other republics and states; but there, too, people are freeing themselves from the old dogmas, habits, and views. I see hope in that.

(The conversation with I. Silayev is published in full in the weekly SOYUZ.)

### Kozyrev Envisions CSCE Role for Republics

*PM0509111291 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 Sep 91 p 3*

[Article by A. Kozyrev, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic foreign minister: "After the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency], the CSCE"]

[Text] The next CSCE conference on the human dimension is due to open in Moscow 10 September.

Even before the August events there were heated disputes over the place and role of this event in internal processes in our country, on which the future of the entire all-European cause depends. Independent democratic organizations—the Sakharov Congress, Memorial, the Moscow Tribune—were sounding the alarm and even calling for a boycott of the conference, because the party-nomenklatura structures of state power were being strengthened—tanks in the streets of Vilnius were rightly seen as the precursors of tanks in Moscow.

In view of this, the Russian parliament's committees on international affairs and human rights, together with the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Foreign Ministry, formulated a line of supporting the conference and participating in the Union delegation only on condition that the forum is used not for general reassuring speeches, but for critical analysis of the urgent problems that exist in the USSR, as they do, of course, in other countries too, and for strengthening the mechanisms of international monitoring in defense of human rights.

At the same time other republics, beginning with the Baltics and including the Ukraine and Belorussia, were insisting on a greater or lesser degree of autonomous participation in the Moscow Conference, and indeed in other CSCE forums. This, in their opinion, is in accordance with the right of the USSR's peoples to their own national-state face in Europe, a face formerly hidden behind the faceless mask of the unitary Soviet system.

The CSCE mechanism, however, proved unreceptive toward these changes in the east of Europe. Focusing on the Union center, which has the right to veto any decisions within the CSCE framework, the states participating in the all-European process could not or would not hear the alarming voices that destroyed the cozy picture of an emerging new international order with the participation of a restructured Soviet Union and its nice leader. Furthermore they sometimes issued stern reminders of the benefits of obedience for the sake of the stability of the existing Union. It was no accident that Yanayev and company emphasized these very motives, giving assurances of their loyalty to the foreign policy course.

And should it not be a lesson to us all that the fathers of the free world did not heed the appeal for resistance to dictatorship until the second day? The reason, obviously, lies not only in the fascination exerted by the "perestroyka" list of Soviet ambassadors appointed on a monopoly basis by the Union center, who obediently explained the policy of the "new USSR leadership." The fact is that this appeal emanated from a place that does not exist on the CSCE political map, the capital of the Russian Federation, which, it turned out, is also called Moscow.

So does all this mean that the CSCE process is dead? I think not. In fact its principles are more relevant than ever before, in order to ensure that the changes in the east of Europe do not lead to the impasse of dictatorship or chaos, but develop along paths laid by modern civilization and lead to a quality of life with standards as high as those in the western part of the continent.

A couple of illustrations will suffice.

At the same time all-European norms affirm the inviolability of existing borders. But ideal borders corresponding to generally accepted ethnic or historical criteria do not exist anywhere, even in Western Europe. However, there is a prevailing understanding, won through centuries of territorial wars, that the most important thing is not the location of the border, but the abandonment of attempts to change it by force—people of any nationality should have the right freely to cross the border and choose a place of domicile on either side. And so the dispute over Alsace and Lorraine, which was never resolved in many centuries of bloodshed, is hardly remembered by anyone in today's Franco-German alliance. And in general integration in Western Europe is proceeding on the basis of mutual recognition of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states, many of which have traditionally regarded their small neighbors as vassals and admittedly foreign territories as having been handed over at one time at the whim of dynastic marriages or crazy monarchs.

Let us also resolve the paradox of combining the principles of noninterference in internal affairs and concern for democracy in all countries, and in our case republics. You cannot deny the right to self-determination and sovereignty on the grounds that regimes are insufficiently democratic, but you can and must insist on the universal introduction of such panhuman values as honest elections and freedom of speech and religion.

If the CSCE principles are fully applicable to the new requirements, the same cannot be said for the mechanisms. Today what we need here is a boldness of thought and deed appropriate to the explosive mechanism of events.

First, an idea that suggests itself is for the republics of the present Union to hold their own conference on CSCE principles in order to discuss as a package all aspects of their new mutual relations. If this forum is held prior to the signing of the new Union Treaty it will help promote agreement, if after—it will not hamper it. In any event it will provide an opportunity to come to terms with those who have no intention of joining the Union at all. I think the preparations for a "Soviet CSCE" could be a worthy professional challenge both for the republics' Foreign Ministries and for the coordinating role of the USSR Foreign Ministry. Probably the "big" CSCE could provide support, at least political support, for this "small" gathering of republic representatives.

Second, the time has come to find flexible forms for the direct inclusion of "Union" republics in the work of the CSCE, first and foremost so that they feel "personally" responsible for the fulfillment of the international commitments taken on by the USSR, including the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. The task is, without excluding the USSR, to find intermediate options—observers, associate members, and so forth—for involving the Soviet republics in the all-European process.

And it is expedient to do this at the Moscow Conference, especially in view of the fact that it will be discussing something that is of the utmost importance for the further development of the situation in the Soviet Union—human rights and democracy.

In principle, after the failure of the putsch it is, of course, necessary to hold the conference. But not as an opportunity for euphoric speeches and mutual congratulations. The conference should naturally and logically focus attention on the complex and—as August showed—far from resolved problem of the existence of totalitarianism, the creation of guarantees against its revival, and the formation of a rule-of-law society, and this is not only a Soviet theme, but basically a common East European and therefore European theme.

It is particularly important that the conference should result in the strengthening of existing mechanisms and the creation of new mechanisms for "interference" by the CSCE in the internal affairs of states, including republics, in order to defend the generally recognized norms of democracy and freedom for people of every nationality. The USSR president thanked the "subversive" Radio Liberty for its transmissions during the putsch, and the RSFSR president has granted it the right to open an office in Moscow. Now we must think, for instance, about compulsory CSCE inspections for on-the-spot investigations into reports on the inviolability [as published] of human rights or the undermining of legitimate organs of power. If there is the slightest chance that such a mechanism will help guard against the storming of presidents' summer residences and television towers, the besieging of parliaments, or bloodshed in Nagorno-Karabakh, then we should speak out in favor of creating it in Moscow on 10 September.

## Khasbulatov on New State Law, Preserving Union

*LD0509220291*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1545 GMT on 5 September broadcasts the "Parliamentary Herald" program, which contains a 15-minute interview with Ruslan Khasbulatov, acting chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, by journalist and People's Deputy Igor Zbronzhko, about the new USSR law on state power and governing the USSR in the transition period, which was discussed by Russian deputies at their emergency session.

Khasbulatov opens his comments by saying that the draft law was adopted with great difficulty and much discussion. The Russian USSR deputies met 3 days ago and agreed on the necessity of passing such a law at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies.

Khasbulatov says: "The point is that we need to preserve the Union in some form. At least we need to explore all possibilities. Even more so as this was the last chance, the last historical chance on offer to the Union Congress of People's Deputies to try and adopt a law, to try to create these sorts of bodies of state power, and bodies to govern the USSR during the transitional period, until a new Union treaty can be concluded. Otherwise, you and I can see these tendencies toward disintegration; we can see the serious intent of the Union republics to completely leave the Union. This means the failure of economic links, political links, cultural links, and I think on the whole people will of course, scarcely thanks us for this."

Zbronzhko states that Russia has always been in favor of a Union and Khasbulatov confirms this, saying that Russia has always led the movement for preserving the Union. Yesterday's meeting was to inform those Russian deputies not directly participating in the USSR Congress about events there. Zbronzhko then asks more specifically what Russia's position is on this.

Legally speaking, Khasbulatov states, Russia's position is the same as the position of other republics. He then goes on to quote from the law about the bodies of state authority for the transitional period, in particular pointing out the implications of the legislation for Russia. Owing to the federative nature of Russia, with all its former autonomous entities, they had sought more representatives than the other republics, 51 in all.

"Here, they spoke decisively against what seemed to be a sharp increase in the number of representatives from Russia as compared to the other republics, and we agreed on this compromise version—45 deputies, while all the other republics have 20," Khasbulatov says.

Khasbulatov adds: "With the aim of guaranteeing equal rights for the republics in voting in the Republican Council, every Union republic has one vote." He further quotes from the new law to illustrate the extent to which the influence of the republics has been increased. Zbronzhko asks whether in this new structure there will be a Union Congress. Khasbulatov replies: "The Union Congress—I will now move on to this—yes, it is now excluded." Khasbulatov quotes from the law where it deals with this, and describes such a development as inevitable.

Zbronzhko's next question concerns the introduction of the State Council made up of the USSR president and the presidents or chairmen of the republics, and asks how it will work with the Supreme Soviet.

Khasbulatov replies by reading out the article referring to this Council. It is to deal with issues of internal and foreign policy affecting the general interests of the republics.

Finally, on the economic co-existence of the republics, Khasbulatov refers to the interim Interrepublican Committee which is now working to coordinate interrepublican economic links. Khasbulatov says: "So, both the state committee, and other structures, and the president, the presidents and leaders must now work very intensively to complete work on establishing an interrepublican economic committee. For the present, as you know, the interim committee is still working."

Zbronzhko says: "Which is headed by Ivan Stepanovich Silayev."

Khasbulatov replies: "Ivan Stepanovich Silayev, and we need to form an interrepublican economic committee to govern the national economy as quickly as possible."

Khasbulatov goes on to mention the removal of the post of vice president envisaged in the law. "Obviously, this is taking into account the unsuccessful experience with the first vice president, Yanayev, who betrayed his position, and, frankly speaking, who committed such a moral crime," Khasbulatov says. He continues to talk about the low moral standards of high officials, and when Zbronzhko asks whether these people are still assuming high posts, Khasbulatov says: "Yes, that is just the point, they are still even now getting there. Now the same sort of government is being formed, and I can see a large number of just such rogues—unfortunately."

The final question is whether these new bodies will enable Russia and the other republics to emerge from the crisis with winter looming.

Khasbulatov replies: "If we will rely on these measures and do nothing else, then they will never permit this. Therefore, we have to rely, I would like to say, totally on ourselves, on our Supreme Soviet which should guarantee all the relevant legal and constitutional bases for the implementation of economic reforms, on our government, the Russian government, which needs to energetically occupy itself not only with preparations for winter, but also with issues connected with the need to change, and to make fundamental changes to the economic situation in our republic. There is no doubt about this.

"As for what we are talking about here, about the importance of it—this once more bears witness to the fact that the center of gravity for economic policy has completely gone over to the Union republics. Therefore, in Russia, we cannot count on anything or anyone. We should only count on ourselves. This is what this very same law bears witness to."

## Khasbulatov Examines Lukyanov Role in Coup

*AU0409075591 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Aug 91 p 14*

[Interview with Ruslan Khasbulatov, acting chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, by Vladimir Divis in Moscow; date not given: "The Role Played by Lukyanov"]

[Text] [Divis] In your opinion, what kind of future lies in store for the USSR presidency?

[Khasbulatov] I am in favor of preserving this post. At the same time, I support the president's being elected by the Congress of People's Deputies in the same way that M. Gorbachev was elected.

[Divis] Do you think that in its current form, the USSR Supreme Soviet had a right to sit in session for more than one day?

[Khasbulatov] It had a right to sit in session for two days at the most. It should then have dissolved itself. On the other hand, it would have been incorrect to dissolve simultaneously the Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies and thus create a power vacuum before the next elections.

[Divis] Former Supreme Soviet Chairman Anatoliy Lukyanov has maintained that a minimum of five days were necessary to convene an extraordinary session. You managed to do this in the Russian legislature in the space of a few hours.

[Khasbulatov] We managed to do this because we wanted to oppose the coup attempt as quickly as possible. Union parliamentary deputies were to have convened on Wednesday 21 August at the latest.

[Divis] Along with Aleksandr Rutskoy and Ivan Silayev, you met with Lukyanov on Tuesday 20 August. What did he say?

[Khasbulatov] The same thing he said later: that is, he is innocent and did not participate in the coup. On the other hand, he tried to give the impression that Gorbachev knew in advance about the formation of an eight-member committee. He also asked us whether the Russian leadership would support the State of Emergency Committee if Gorbachev could be saved. It goes without saying that we said no. We once again stressed that we considered all the committee members to be criminals. Lukyanov was still talking about Gorbachev's poor state of health and, at the same time, he placed considerable blame on us. According to him, our firm point of view during talks on the Union treaty and economic reform allegedly put him into his sick bed.

[Divis] How deep are the roots of Lukyanov's betrayal of his close friend, Gorbachev?

[Khasbulatov] Undoubtedly, they lie in his nature, character, and moral fiber. The spiritual collapse in senior positions in our "socialist" society has reached a critical state. Look around you, look at the central organs, oblasts, and regions. Every other functionary or apparatchik is able to look you in the eye and—without flinching—can convincingly lie, distort the facts, and issue misinformation. They have been educated for decades in party institutions and have never been aware of genuine personal responsibility, but they have wielded almost absolute authority and made decisions about the fate of millions of people. Thus, not only the most senior structures collapsed, but the middle-ranking multimillion strong cadres collapsed, too. Lukyanov, a man without integrity or honor, is a disciple of this system. On the other hand, he is an expert at manipulating people, the deputies, and public opinion. Unfortunately, he is not alone; very many similar people live among us.

### Rutskoy, Khasbulatov Head Republic Legislators

*OW0509204591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1800 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] After the Congress of USSR People's Deputies ended on Thursday, RSFSR [Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic] parliamentarians held a conference co-chaired by Russia'a Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy and acting head of parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov.

The conference approved the idea of forming, at the parliamentary session opening on September 19, an RSFSR delegation to the new USSR Supreme Soviet. It also decided that the Russian parliament would consider the problem of whether or not the republic is facing a real threat of famine.

Speakers drew attention to the fact that the head of Moscow's executive power, Mayor Gavriil Popov simultaneously acts as President Yeltsin's personal envoy supervising the system of executive power in the city. They described such a combintion of offices as "illogical."

### Deputies Satisfied With People's Congress

*LD0509215491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1711 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] Moscow, 5 Sep (TASS)—Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] people's deputies held a meeting today in the RSFSR House of Soviets.

According to the press service of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, during the meeting people's deputies expressed their general satisfaction with the results of the work of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. They submitted proposals on the procedure of forming the representation of the Russian Federation in the new bodies—the Soviet of the Republics and the Soviet of the Union.

In connection with the visit by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet delegation to Japan, Ruslan Khasbulatov, acting chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, has confirmed that there is no change in the well-known position of the Russian Federation leadership with regard to the issue on the territorial demarcation between the two states.

### Stepankov Denies Reports of 'Mass Arrests'

*LD0609084191 Moscow TASS in English 0806 GMT 6 Sep 91*

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—"Coup leaders are charged not with introducing a state of emergency, as there are constitutional ways for introducing it, but with violence they chose to do it," Russia's Prosecutor General Valentin Stepankov said in an interview with PRAVDA, published today.

Stepankov was speaking about investigation into the August 19-21 coup.

Neither of those charged said the coup was a means of satisfying their ambitions. They said they believed that the new Union treaty was disastrous and the economic, social and political crisis is so deep that emergency measures were needed, and the Soviet president did not dare take them, Stepankov said.

"But the investigation needs a system of proofs, rather than words. It will be possible to decide on the motives of the coup only after the investigation ends. We have been working for ten days and two to three months are still ahead," Stepankov said.

Denouncing rumours about mass arrests of citizens, allegedly involved in the coup, Stepankov said that proceedings on a total of 20 criminal cases have been instituted in republics, territories and regions of the country. Not a single person has been arrested on them.

"Fourteen people have been arrested in connection with our case, including seven of the eight people, who signed the 'emergency committee' statement. Others include Soviet Communist Party Secretary Oleg Shenin, the Soviet President's Chief of Staff Valeriy Boldin, land forces commander Valentin Varennikov, presidential guard head Plekhanov and his deputy Generalov, first deputy head of the KGB Grushko and Soviet parliament head Anatoliy Lukyanov," Stepankov said.

It is hard to say whether all "chief heroes" of the coup have been ascertained, Stepankov said.

Stepankov noted that it is up to the court to decide whether open or closed court sessions will be held and whether they will be broadcast on television. He said he was sure that society should have enough information about the investigation of the coup not only for the sake of democracy, but also to ease tension.

### Ceremony Honoring Servicemen Scheduled for 10 Sep

*OW0509184391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On September IO during a solemn ceremony at the Russian Interior Ministry building, those Russian Interior Ministry, military and state security servicemen who defended the Russian parliament during the coup attempt will be given cash awards.

Journalists are welcome to the ceremony which will take place at 5 p.m. in the Staff Hall of the Russian Interior Ministry (6, Ogarev street).

### Council of Ministers Rescinds Coup Decisions

*PM0509151991 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Sep 91 p 3*

[Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers Resolution No. 453: "On Deeming Invalid Certain RSFSR Council of Ministers' Decisions Adopted at the Time of the Coup in the USSR"]

[Text] In connection with the suppression of the coup d'etat in the USSR, the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers resolves:

The following are to be deemed invalid:
—Points 2, 3, and 4 of RSFSR Council of Ministers Resolution No. 439 of 24 August 1991: "On the USSR Cabinet of Ministers";
—Points 1 and 5 of RSFSR Council of Ministers Resolution No. 440 of 24 August 1991: "On Measures To Form a Material and Technical Supply System on RSFSR Territory";
—RSFSR Council of Ministers Resolution No. 441 of 24 August 1991: "On Additional Measures To Organize the Activity of Economic Organs on RSFSR Territory";
—RSFSR Council of Ministers Resolution No. 443 of 26 August 1991: "On Approving Plenipotentiary Members of the RSFSR Government Responsible for the Work of USSR Ministries and Departments."

[Signed] I. Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers

[Dated] 2 September 1991

### Moscow Soviet To Hold Extraordinary Session

*OW0509183291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Presidium of the Moscow City Council decided on Thursday to convene an extraordinary council session on September 12 to discuss a draft RSFSR [Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic] law on Moscow's status.

The Presidium approved a coat-of-arms and a flag for the city. The coat-of-arms features St. George driving his spear through a serpent. The flag of Moscow replicates Russia's three-color flag but bears St. George's image on it.

### Popov Receives Chirac, Invites Western Support

*LD0409123591 Moscow TASS in English 1216 GMT 4 Sep 91*

[by TASS correspondents Igor Agabekov and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow September 4 TASS—The formula of the new union, in which republics will play the leading role and the centre will coordinate their efforts, opens new opportunities to join it for republics that earlier were up in arms against membership in the union, Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov told his Paris counterpart Jacques Chirac here today.

According to the Moscow mayor, the Baltic republics might find it acceptable to join such a union.

Popov told his French guests, who included representatives of a number of French democratic opposition parties, about the political and economic situation in the country.

He noted the next year will be hard but not disastrous from the point of view of supplies of food and energy. According to Popov, the centre will be able to stabilize the situation, if links among different regions of the country remain intact. He called for Western support for the new centre to avert the disintegration of the union.

Paris Mayor Jacques Chirac, on behalf of the French delegation, expressed solidarity with the struggle of democratic forces in the USSR for political and economic changes.

Chirac called for a treaty of friendship and cooperation between Paris and Moscow to expand exchanges in the economic, scientific, technical, cultural and humanitarian fields.

The mayors agreed to establish working groups to draw up the treaty.

Jacques Chirac told TASS he was optimistic about the development of the situation in the USSR. According to him, the people in the Soviet Union believe in a better future and despite hardships will continue to advance along the path of democratizing society.

"Paris will cooperate with Moscow without intervening in the country's internal affairs," Chirac said.

### Sobchak Urges Republics To Sign Union Treaty

*OW0509221891 Moscow INTERFAX in English*
*2102 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Leningrad Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak declared that most republics would sign the new Union treaty and that the first signatures might be affixed before the next decade is out. Addressing the World Economic Forum that opened in Moscow Thursday, he emphasized that even the republics insisting on full independence would have to join the economic union.

Sobchak urged the West to play a more active financial role in reforming the Soviet economy. Specifically, he declared that the Leningrad authorities are ready to begin selling state factories to foreigners who will be entitled to own 100 percent of the assets.

One of the members of the transitional government, Grigoriy Yavlinskiy described the climate in the USSR for foreign investment as "not very good." Western capital must be invested in the development of the banking system, the customs structures and information network, said Yavlinskiy.

The period of transition to new economic relations between the USSR and the West will take "12 to 18 months," said Yavlisnkiy. Yavlisnkiy also said that the USSR was witnessing a runaway inflation: 2 to 5 percent a week.

### Sobchak Concerned Over Failure To Pass Reforms

*OW0409194091 Moscow INTERFAX in English*
*1645 GMT 4 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The mayor of Leningrad, Mr. Anatoliy Sobchak, has told journalists that failure by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies to pass the government-reforming measures suggested by President Gorbachev and the leaders of 10 republics may play into the hands of reactionary groups.

"Unless we fail to reach agreement during the Congress, they (the reactionaries—IF [INTERFAX]) will be quick to rally together and launch an anti-democracy and anti-reform campaign under the guise of compliance with the law and the Soviet Constitution. We may thus give a new putsch a good chance," Mr. Sobchak said.

He added that action on the measures suggested by the republican leaders and the president would be the only way to legally renew the Soviet Union's state structure.

### Leningrad Communist Party Destroys Documents

*OW0509013391 Moscow INTERFAX in English*
*1900 GMT 4 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday the commission of the Leningrad City Council investigating the coup attempt in Leningrad along with the law-enforcement bodies elicited the fact of urgent liquidation of secret documents belonging to the Communist Party.

As an INTERFAX correspondent learned at the Leningrad Interior Board Press Center, from August 21-23 all secret documents of the Leningrad regional CPSU Committee have been destroyed.

Participants in the liquidation said they had been carrying out a secret instruction sent by the CPSU CC [Central Committee] to the Smolny Palace in the morning of August 21. The instruction ordered the liquidation of all documents of the 4th secret sector of the CPSU regional committee. There are suspicions that all of the correspondence of the Leningrad regional CPSU committee with the CPSU CC and the Russian Communist Party CC regarding the creation of the Leningrad Emergency Commission on the eve of the coup attempt has been liquidated.

### Leningrad's Name Change to St Petersburg Approved

*LD0609152191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network*
*in Russian 1500 GMT 6 Sep 91*

[Text] The RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium has confirmed the results of the referendum in Leningrad on returning to the city its historical name: St. Petersburg. In the spring, the majority of the city's inhabitants stated they supported this move, but the last word on the subject belonged to the Russian Supreme Soviet. As INTERFAX reports, the decision of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on this issue comes into force immediately.

### Sverdlovsk To Return to Historical Name

*LD0409191291 Moscow TASS International Service*
*in Russian 1517 GMT 4 Sep 91*

[By TASS correspondent Nadezhda Potapova]

[Text] Sverdlovsk, 4 Sep (TASS)—Today the session of the City Soviet adopted a decision on returning to the historical name for Sverdlovsk—Yekaterinburg. The deputies of this Urals city have addressed a request to the Supreme Soviet of Russia to sanction this decision.

### Newspaper's New Founder Interviewed on Policy

*PM0509113391 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 3 Sep 91 Single Edition p 4*

[Interview with A.F. Zavidiya, owner of the "Zavidiya" firm and president of the "Galand" concern, by N. Belan; date and place not given: "Partners: A Word About Our Founders"]

[Text] For some days it was unusually quiet in our editorial office. What had become of the many authors from ministries and departments and CPSU officials who only recently used to besiege our department with requests to print their works or to give out some pieces of information? And there is another thing I have sensed: Many of those who previously used to profess their love for the newspaper now shy away from me as if I had the plague. Only our unselfish readers have shown support—in telegrams, letters, and over the telephone.

So my curiosity was all the greater when I went to meet the people who had offered to help by becoming founders of the newspaper together with the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA labor collective. They are the owners of the "Zavidiya" firm, the firm's president Andrey Fedorovich Zavidiya and his wife Galina Vasilyevna. They are long-standing readers and friends of the newspaper, and basically they have rescued it by investing their earnings as we journalists do not have the "capital" to do this. For this reason thoughts of patronage and sponsorship went through my mind, and I mentioned this at the beginning of our meeting.

"No, you are wrong there," I heard in reply. "In four years of entrepreneurial activity we have had both patronage and sponsorship. But whenever someone borrows, then—how shall I put it?—he is obliged to pay something back, even if only morally. We are therefore investing money in the newspaper not in order to buy it and tame it. We have come to its aid without charity in mind; charity would humiliate a newspaper that has its own pride and a readership of many millions, and we respect SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and value it highly. So this is not about patronage or sponsorship. What we are starting with you is joint economic activity—this is the main thing, the essence of the matter."

[Belan] You mean that in economic terms we are partners?

[Zavidiya] Equal partners actually. We have no relations other than our economic ones. In other words, we do not even intend to exert any sort of influence on the newspaper's contents and its direction or to point out to the journalists what they should write about or how they should go about it. Life and competition will do this without us. What we can do is to help the newspaper exist in the new economic conditions and market relations.

[Belan] But are you not afraid of losing everything?

[Zavidiya] No. A newspaper that upholds the preservation of our statehood, our national dignity, and the social rights of working people has a great future. And another thing: This newspaper, you know, reflects the public mood and its views, and therefore, it will find a readership.

[Belan] All right, but what material benefit do you get out of this? More generally, who are you, our unexpected savior, or partner, I should say? Especially as many people think of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA as virtually an enemy of private business, enterprise, and the market.

[Zavidiya] This enemy image is created by swindlers whom you have not allowed to engage in shady dealings and speculation. We are only at the beginning of the so-called accumulation of capital, and to understand what this means you have only to look at the history of all developed capitalist countries. Proceeding from the basis of common human morality, we have always supported only honest enterprise and respect for the law. We favor the market, but only—like your newspaper—not for the sake of the personal enrichment of a handful of people, but for the prosperity of the broad mass of the people and the economic and spiritual regeneration of Russia.

As far as my firm is concerned, it is small and diversified, and at the present time is involved in supplies and sales.

[Belan] Andrey Fedorovich, you are also president of the "Galand" concern. What is that?

[Zavidiya] The concern is hundreds of enterprises all over the country that are absolutely autonomous in economic terms. Moreover, these enterprises are extremely diverse—state, cooperative, private, joint-stock, leased, small, and joint ventures; that is, they represent all forms of ownership permitted by law at the present time. They are involved in everything from the production of agricultural produce to delivering computers.

[Belan] Why this diversity as regards different forms of ownership?

[Zavidiya] The main purpose and point of the "Galand" concern is to establish a kind of laboratory, an experimental base or, if you like, a miniature model of the country's future economic structure with a view to rehearsing and "fine-tuning" all forms of ownership. For almost a year we have in fact been doing this; we now have a wealth of experience that we are sure will be of use to economists, legislators, and economic managers. We certainly must learn from the West, but what is happening here does not fit any theory or any Western experience.

Moreover, we are also training practical workers, people are accumulating the knowledge and skills to work in the new economic conditions; some people who feel confident enough are already getting started in business. So the "Galand" concern is a sort of academy.

One of our most important ideas is setting up a large number of home-based jobs now that we are on the threshold of mass unemployment. We established that almost one-half of working women would like to work at home, they are tired of large-scale office enterprises—so this huge section of the population will support our idea. We began by implementing it and during the years of our existence we have gained some experience.

We have already said that all the firms in the concern are economically autonomous. There are no commitments for them to give us part of their profits or for us to buy everything from them. They work for themselves and freely dispose of the results of their labor. For us the main thing about the concern is the fact that it is a union of people of like mind.

Today a new stream is flowing into this economic union—your newspaper is joining us, our experiment is becoming more multifaceted, so we too are the gainers. After all, the new economic model that we are establishing at state level is inconceivable without the press, so we shall try things out and experiment together. We are sure to have a good working relationship, and with your help we will be able to study in depth and—most important of all—to resolve in practice questions of social protection for working people, and also to introduce various forms of it in this regard. Because concern for the social well-being of the working man and help and support for pensioners, large families, and disabled people are things we want, and also things that the "Galand" concern is trying to achieve as it works on a new model for the economic structure of our society.

[Belan] One last question. The first issue of our newspaper had barely been published after its temporary halt before NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA [Independent Newspaper] published an allegation that "the former owners of the newspaper have managed to transfer some of their funds to 'Galant's' account with strict instructions on how the money is to be used." Can you comment on this report?

[Zavidiya] Well, what can I say? All this would be laughable if it were not so sad. By "former owners" I take them to mean the CPSU Central Committee. Well, not a single kopek has been transferred from there to "Galand's" account (and not "Galant," as NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA puts it), and this is easily checked. It is not hard to understand why disinformation of this sort is necessary. It saddens me that from the very outset suspicion and an atmosphere of mistrust have been whipped up around what is essentially a new newspaper. I do not know how the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA collective will react to this report, but we will of course act according to the law. People who try to sully the honest name of the concern must answer for it in court.

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## Board Disbanded; No Chief Editor

*PM0509142991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Sep 91 Single Edition p 4*

[TASS report under the "Around the Country" rubric: "SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA Published—But Who's Chief Editor?"]

[Text] Moscow—After reregistration with the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Ministry of the Press and Mass Information, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA has resumed publication. The editorial team has dissociated itself from its former founders. Now the newspaper's masters are the publication's trade union organization, and the labor collective of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA's sponsor, the "Zavidiya" firm. The newspaper's editorial board has been disbanded. A 12-member provisional editorial council has been set up in its place. There are plans to hold elections for chief editor soon.

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## Price Increase; No Second Edition

*PM0509151391 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Sep 91 Single Edition p 1*

[Announcement from SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA journalists and founders: "Subscription Will Not Cost More"]

[Text] Starting today the retail price of a single four-page issue of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA has risen to 30 kopeks and that of a six-page issue to 40 kopeks. Why?

During the 35 years our newspaper has been published it has been profitable; its annual income has totaled many millions of rubles; for example, from 1987 to 1990 alone it brought in about 60 million rubles net income. It is perfectly clear that the property at SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA's disposal has already been paid for many times over by several generations of its staffers' labor.

Recently expenditure on newsprint and the paper's production has risen sharply. However, we have succeeded in keeping down the cost of an annual subscription to a relatively low level, because some of the profits made earlier have been used to subsidize the costs. For example, the reader paid 8-10 kopeks for a single issue of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA at the newsstand, whereas for subscribers it wa cheaper.

Now the newspaper's journalistic collective and founders find themselves no longer able to afford to continue the former practice of providing a subsidy. In market conditions this simply leads to bankruptcy. At the same time, having registered specifically as a people's newspaper, we would not like to lose our mass circulation.

We intend to preserve our former preferential subscription rate for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA over the coming year by making the strictest of economies. Specifically, we have had to give up the practice of producing two editions daily. For the moment the paper will be published only as a four-page edition. Only the Saturday issue will be five pages long. It is possible that we will be forced to make new reductions in editorial expenditures.

Even so, these measures are capable of only partially salvaging the situation. The increasing cost of producing the paper is also intensifying the growth in expenditure in an unpredictable manner. In order not to pass this on to the readers, we propose to increase the space given over to advertisements and announcements. We are also counting on income from our founders' commercial activities.

We would like, however, to maintain SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA's presence among the colorful and varied range of publications whatever financial "storms" we endure and not allow our beloved paper to die. We hope that this also corresponds to your wishes.

### Republic Plans To Repay Foreign Debt

*OW0509032691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0053 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia is planning to seek repayment of its own share of the foreign debt to the Soviet Union. Authoritative sources told INTERFAX news agency the Russian government was already holding talks about the issue with a number of debtor countries and companies. A number of Soviet MP's [members of parliament], however, are expected to lodge a formal protest against Russia's moves.

### Central Bank Chairman on Republics' Currencies

*OW0609034891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2102 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] After the independence-minded Soviet republics introduce their own currencies, the ruble will start to take on the role of a "reserve currency" on the territory of the USSR, said the chairman of Russia's Central Bank, Georgiy Matyukhin.

In an interview with ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA (THE RUSSIAN NEWSPAPER), Matyukhin said that Russia is likely to remain the main supplier of raw materials and of many important industrial products to the breakaway Soviet republics, and that it will retain a dominant economic role. This will give the ruble a position of leadership, forcing the other republics to build ruble reserves and thus raising the value of the ruble.

The republics can hardly switch to the dollar in trade among themselves as the country does not have enough hard currency to cover the entire volume of trade among the republics which are currently part of the USSR, Matyukhin said. On the other hand, he pointed out that a growing importance of the ruble could well create the right climate for making it convertible, while the weaker republican currencies would never be able to achieve this goal. According to the chairman of the Central Bank, it would be sensible economic policy for the republics to allow both the ruble and the republican currency to circulate freely in their territories.

### Russian Fund's Plans for Business Centers

*OW0509041891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1900 GMT 4 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Yeltsin's Russian Fund set up last year is planning a network of business centres in Moscow, and elsewhere in Russia and the Soviet Union.

The centres will be created on the basis of luxury hotels, including those which belonged to the Communist Party, a fund official told INTERFAX news agency. The fund also intends to attract Western investors.

### Soviet Far East Fund Established To Aid Economy

*OW0509051591 Moscow Central Television First Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1900 GMT 29 Aug 91*

[By I. Ilichev; from the "Utro" program]

[Text] According to information in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA from the Far East, the rayons sharing the border with China have become active zones for smugglers. Fuel and building materials are being exchanged for Chinese vodka. Fortunately, however, there are more civilized forms of trade between citizens of our country and China; for example, a Soviet Far East fund has been established in Moscow. Our correspondent reports: [video shows panorama of a Chinese city, stock market, the manufacture of electronic circuit boards]

[Begin recording] [Ilichev] Recognizing the political importance of the Asia-Pacific region in economic cooperation matters, our country focused itself mainly on the West for a long period of time. Today, however, the situation is changing. Expanding interaction with China, South Korea, Singapore, and other countries and territories of this extensive region is graphic confirmation of this change. To conduct business with us today is, however, far from simple due to the almost total paralysis of the central powers and the duplication of Soviet and republican laws. It is not coincidental that many foreign partners from Asia, as well as our enterprises and associations, prefer to establish direct contacts. But here they often encounter a multitude of problems. To simplify matters, a Soviet Far East fund was established on the initiative of the USSR Scientific Industrial Union and also by such prominent people as Shevardnadze, Petrakov, and Luzhkov. [video shows Ilichev interviewing Ye.V. Yefimov, general director of the Soviet section of the fund]

[Yefimov] The fund is a nongovernment organization. It was formed to support economic, cultural, and scientific ties with the countries of the Far East region. The basic direction of the fund's activities is to attract investment, primarily in the manufacture of consumer goods to satisfy the Soviet market. In this area, these countries are very strong in the manufacture of consumer goods. [video shows stockpile of food products, wines, and then shows a container terminal]

[Ilichev] Naturally, the revamping of our economy is not the easiest task. The leadership of the Soviet Far East fund are convinced, however, that they can fill the empty shelves in our stores, and more effectively than State bodies. [video shows Ilichev interviewing Mr. Li, general director of the Taiwan Province of the PRC foreign section of the fund]

[Li, in Mandarin fading into Russian translation] Our fund is a free and open organization devoid of bureaucratic manifestations present in your system. We count on not only being just procuring partners, but also on developers of exchanges of information, scientific and technical expertise, and the training of cadres. Business people from Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaysia, and other regional countries have already expressed their interest in the fund's activities. Of course, your military coup has made many wary. To some degree, we, however, see it as great assistance to business people. As a result of its collapse, a space has been cleared for democracy and a free economy, and this is a good start. [end recording]

## Chechen-Ingush Conflict With Leaders Reported

*PM0509110791 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Sep 91 p 2*

[Report by own correspondent Aleksandr Aleshkin: "Antagonism Between People and Authorities"]

[Text] Vladikavkaz—Antagonism between the people and the authorities is continuing in the Chechen-Ingush Republic. The executive committee of the Chechen People's Congress headed by General Dzhakhar Dudayev (retired), the Veinakh Democratic Party, and other public movements are still demanding the resignation of D. Zavgayev, chairman of the Chechen-Ingush Republic Supreme Soviet, along with his deputies A. Petrenko and M. Sultygov. They also are demanding the dissolution of the legislature and government, and the scheduling of new democratic elections. The conflict arose, as is well known, because the leadership of the Chechen-Ingush Republic supported the putschists.

On 3 September, USSR People's Deputies B. Gromov, M. Esambayev, I. Kobzon, and R. Aushev flew to Groznyy on their own initiative on a peace mission. They did not succeed in reconciling the sides. Zavgayev persistently refuses to leave his post. The democrats are demanding the unconditional resignation of the republic's entire leadership.

The situation remains explosive.

## Groznyy 'Confrontation' Continues

*LD0509171791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0858 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] For more than 10 days public meetings have been held in Groznyy, the basic demand being the immediate resignation of the Supreme Soviet, the creation of a coalition committee for the transitional period, and the holding of nationwide elections for the republican president. The executive committee of the Chechen Congress and the Vaynakh Democratic Party are representing the will and interests of those who today went into the squares of Groznyy.

So far, attempts to find a compromise between the opposing sides have failed, and, fearing the possible consequences of a prolonged confrontation, the clergy and intelligentsia of the republic have intervened in the conflict calling upon all sides to sit at the negotiating table.

The extraordinary congress of the Chechen people and the extraordinary session of the republican parliament recently ended their work. Unfortunately, both these forums failed to defuse the situation. The confrontaion continues.

## Citizens Urged To Comply With Law

*LD0609085591 Moscow TASS in English 0759 GMT 6 Sep 91*

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—Aslanbek Aslakhanov, chairman of the Russian Federation Parliament's Committee for Legality, Law and Order, and Action to Combat Crime, urged the population of the Chechen-Ingush Republic to be reasonable and abide by laws.

"All issues can be resolved peacefully", Aslakhanov told Russian Television in an interview broadcast on Thursday night.

"In the current situation, a state of emergency would be imposed in the republic if bloodshed is unleashed. But this should not be allowed," he said.

The parliamentarian urged the authorities and democratic forces in the republic "to do everything for common sense to prevail".

Rallies have been taking place in this North-Caucasian republic for two weeks in a demand for immediate resignation of the republic's entire leadership that is accused of collaborating with the leaders of the failed anti-constitutional plot. Official power structures have been paralysed and the parliament and government buildings have been blockaded.

## Dismissal of Minister Denied

*PM0609113791 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 Sep 91 Single Edition p 2*

[Unattributed report: "In Russian MVD Press Center"]

[Text] The newspaper GOLOS CHECHENO-INGUSHETII has published a note on the dismissal of the republic's internal affairs minister, A. Alsultanov, which noted that the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] does not have the right to interfere in the sovereign affairs of Checheno-Ingush and Alsultanov should remain in his post of minister. The newspaper reported he had allegedly been ordered by the RSFSR internal affairs minister to clear the square of those taking part in a meeting but he had not obeyed.

The RSFSR MVD press center is empowered to state that there was no such order from the ministry. On the contrary, Deputy Minister A.F. Dunayev in a personal talk with Alsultanov back on 19 August had insistently recommended that the militia should be used not to stop any demonstrations, but to keep public order. Of course, no one restrained Alsultanov from the execution of his duties. He is now being treated in hospital. The execution of the duties of the Checheno-Ingush minister of internal affairs has been assigned to First Deputy Minister Daudov.

## Yeltsin Appeals for Peace

*LD0609122191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 6 Sep 91*

[Text] I shall now acquaint you with an appeal by the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic president to the Chechen people. This appeal says:

Esteemed fellow countrymen: Today, at a time when the question of restoring justice to peoples who were repressed by the totalitarian regime is being consistently resolved, we are also obliged to surmount the consequences of the putsch organized by political adventurers who wanted to reverse the course of history. At this difficult time we call on you to ensure that legality and law and order are restored to the republic in civilized ways and to heed the rights of citizens, including both electors and people's deputies. On behalf of the Russian leadership, I call on you to refrain from ill-considered and unjustified actions which trample on the centuries-old cultural traditions of the Caucasian highlanders. During the most difficult periods of history, the ancestors of the Veinakhs often solved questions of the people's life in peaceful ways. Spiritual leaders and elders often managed to prevent fratricidal clashes and even to halt blood feuds.

The role of Chechen women was also great. By their words they were able to prevent their husbands and sons from resorting to force. There exist lawful and constitutional ways of settling the question of confidence in the authorities who hold power in the republic. An example of solving such complex questions was demonstrated today by the country's supreme legislative body, the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. I call on you to use the mechanism of civilized talks between representatives of various public movements and the lawfully elected leadership of the republic. May the people's prudence prevent brothers from raising their hands against each other. May common sense quell the fire that threatens to sweep through the Caucasus Mountains and bring grief to the community of people who live in the northern Caucasus.

## Conflict in Groznyy Continues

*OW0609134191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1220 GMT 6 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The president of the Checheno-Ingush Parliament, Doku Zavgayev, declared that the basic demands of the demonstrators in front of the republic's Council of Ministers building in Groznyy, that the Supreme Soviet of the republic be dissolved and power transferred to the Executive Committee of the Chechen Congress that organised the long-running demonstrations, "will never be met".

However, Mr. Zavgayev said, a number of other demands have been met, in particular, the creation of a joint commission from the Supreme Soviet and the Executive Committee of the Chechen Congress to look into the drawing up of laws, including one on citizenship, and also the introduction of the post of President of Checheno-Ingush. Presidential elections have been set for 29th September and the campaign is already under way.

Doku Zavgayev said that demonstrators armed with clubs, iron bars and some fire-arms continue to occupy Checheno-Ingush's radio and television centre and are trying to stop local public transport in Groznyy from running.

He said that the Executive Committee that had organised the meeting was formed last year at a congress of the peoples of Checheno-Ingush. The role of the committee was to foster the spiritual renaissance of the peoples of Checheno-Ingush. However, the committee has chosen to "fight for political power" instead, said Zavgayev. He claimed that the Executive Committee of the Chechen Congress was now calling for the creation of an autonomous Chechen state, independent of both the USSR and the Russian Federation.

The Russian Interior Ministry informed "INTERFAX" yesterday (5th September) that armed men who had seized the radio and TV building were now also in control of an electric power station.

### Renaming of Dagestan Localities Begins

*LD0509222591*

[Editorial Report] Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian at 0700 GMT on 5 September carries a five-minute report on the situation in Dagestan.

Correspondent Dekabr Beybutov reports that the situation is normal now and everything is being done to make the confrontation between democratic movements settle down. Regarding the troubles in Chechen-Ingush, he notes that there are many Chechens living in Dagestan. An organizational committee has begun work in Dagestan on Aukovskiy rayon which borders on Chechen-Ingush. He says it is not just a question of returning to Aukovskiy, now Novolakskiy, its former name but a question of the tragic fate of the indigenous peoples, the Chechens who were repressed in 1944 and deported to other remote parts of the country; 13 years later they were allowed to return to Dagestan. The problem is that at the time, 47 years ago, Lak people were forcibly settled on their land. It is not just a question of renaming the rayon but of returning historic names to villages. A transitional period has been established from 1991-1992. An organizing committee has also been formed for moving Novolakskiy rayon, which means moving a whole ethnic group, giving them homes and land, which will continue to 1996. Beybutov finishes by expressing hope that it will all be settled without confrontation.

### Komi Opposition Movements Present United Front

*LD0509183791 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[By correspondent E. Kuznetsov; from the "Vesti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] The democratic and national movements of the Komi Soviet Socialist Republic have announced a campaign for the resignation of the supreme authorities in the republic and for the dissolution of its parliament. For the first time these movements are presenting a united front. This is their evaluation of the activities of those governing Komi during the period of the putsch and after it.

On the first day of the coup, they took the side of the plotters and at the session of the Supreme Soviet, which took place after the events, they practically supported the actions of the junta's accomplices.

[V. Kanayev, deputy chairman of the committee for the rebirth of the Komi people, identified by caption] The Supreme Soviet—and the latest events have, incidentally demonstrated this—is not capable today, in its present form, of carrying out all the tasks that have been laid upon it.

### Buryat Supreme Soviet Holds Session

*LD0409223191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1528 GMT 4 sep 91*

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Trofimov: "At the Session of the Buryat Supreme Soviet"—TASS headline]

[Text] Ulan-Ude, 4 Sep (TASS)—Such a thing has never happened in the work of the legislature of the Buryat Soviet Socialist Republic. The only question on the agenda of the extraordinary session of this legislative body—the election of the chairman of the republican Supreme Soviet—was not resolved in two days of work.

After two hours of discussion and two votes, the deputies adopted a decision to carry over the elections of the head of the legislature to the regular fifth session to be held at the beginning of October. Vladimir Saganov, chairman of the Buryatiya Council of Ministers, will head the republic's delegation at the signing of the Federation and Union treaties.

The two-day meeting of the extraordinary session of the legislature ended with the establishment of a deputies' faction "for democratic reforms."

### Riga OMON To Help in Tyumen Law Enforcement

*PM0609074791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2*

[By Yuriy Perepletkin under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Riga OMON Registers in Siberia"]

[Text] Tyumen—Roughly 100 Riga OMON [Special-Purpose Militia Detachment] personnel have arrived in Tyumen.

By agreement with local organs they will safeguard public order in Tyumen and a number of northern cities.

V. Basharin, chief of the oblispolkom [oblast soviet executive committee] internal affairs administration, said that OMON personnel will be engaged solely in carrying out their professional duties and will have nothing to do with political issues.

"There is enough work," the major general commented. "In areas where the crime situation is worsening, the actions of specialists of this class will prove highly opportune. An order has already been signed incorporating the Riga men in Tyumen militia staff structures."

### Tatar Party Buildings Sealed Despite Ruling

*PM0609152791 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 5 Sep 91 Single Edition p 2*

[Correspondent M. Zaripov report: "The Doors Are Still Sealed"]

[Text] Kazan—The main theme of an extraordinary session of the Tatar Supreme Soviet was a discussion of the prevailing situation in the republic resulting from the anticonstitutional putsch. The debate centered on those who showed their true colors during those tragic days and the formulation of measures designed to find a way out of the political, economic, and moral crisis. The republic's legislature laid emphasized two important points: The first says: "The Tatarstan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] did not support the coup d'etat." The second point concerns the most important gain of the young democracy—glasnost. The junta resorted to very dubious methods: It shut down some press publications. The winning side, however, has in fact repeated what the conspirators did: It has curbed the issue of mass media publications of the opposition. It was noted at the session that in the Tatar Republic more considered measures have been adopted. A commission for mass media cooperation has been established.

The session has gathered at a heated moment of an explosion of anticommunist hysteria when massive nationalization of party property has begun. At the same time Communists are being oppressed and the country's largest mass public organization finds that its ability to function has been restricted. Tatarstan's Cabinet of Ministers also adopted a resolution to seal the buildings of the republic, rayon, and city party committees. This was done literally in a matter of hours. But the Tatar Supreme Soviet session adopted another decision: It resolved to break the seal on the working headquarters of the republic's Communists—the republic party committee. The reasons? According to parliament's constitution, the deputies at the session noted, the organs of executive power are obliged to encourage the activity of all social organizations, including the Communist Party. Their discussion boiled down to this: Can it really be possible that in a rule-of-law state people arriving for work are suddenly presented with sealed doors in accordance with a directive from above that deprives them of the opportunity of going about their business?

But whereas the republic government's ban was in fact implemented instantaneously, there has certainly been no hurry to implement its "sovereign" parliament's decision. Several days have elapsed, but the doors of the republic party committee and the rayon and city party committees are still sealed.

## Ukraine, Belorussia Seek New UN Status

*91UF1124A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian*
*2 Sep 91 Union Edition p 4*

[Article by IZVESTIYA correspondent A. Shalnev: "New Status of the Ukraine and Belorussia in the United Nations"]

[Text] **New York—UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar on Thursday received Gennadiy Udovenko, permanent representative of the Ukraine to the headquarters of the international community. As I understand, the secretary general was given a letter from the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry containing notification of the Ukraine's declaration of its independence.**

The natural question posed these days in the corridors of the United Nations is as follows: How will the declaration of independence by the Ukraine and the adoption by Belorussia of its Law on Sovereignty be reflected in the status of these republics at the United Nations? It is not a question, of course, of possible internal changes or whether, for example, the name plates at those tables in the various halls of UN Headquarters where seats are allotted to the Ukrainian delegation will no longer carry the inscription "Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic" but rather "Ukraine."

It is a question, first and foremost, of how the independence of the republics will affect the resolution of serious political, economic, and other issues before the international community. Since the very moment of the formation of the United Nations, the Ukraine and Belorussia were permanent members having, at least theoretically, rights equal to those of any other country, including the United States; but equality was always subordinate to the interests of the senior partner—the Soviet Union.

The situation has changed. According to Gennadiy Udovenko, with whom I conversed not long before he met with the UN secretary general, "changes will be made in the substance of our activities in the United Nations.... We will be taking an independent course."

But, the Ukrainian permanent representative added, in consultations.

With whom? With the Government of Russia and the Government of the Soviet Union. Next question: What happens if the Government of Russia and the Union government have different opinions—how will the Government of the Ukraine act then? We are counting, G. Udovenko emphasized, on the achievement of a consensus.

It seems to me that the very first weeks of the regular session of the UN General Assembly coming up in the middle of September should give sufficient information about how the three partners who are officially members of the United Nations will relate to each other and how they will build relations with a partner who does not belong to the United Nations but who will have a very visible and substantial presence there—Russia.

One supposes that along with question of political interaction they will also decide questions of a financial nature, first and foremost the question of who will pay the Belorussian and Ukrainian dues to the funds of the United Nations—both for the maintenance of the organization itself and for the maintenance of its peacekeeping forces scattered all over the planet.

It is no secret to anyone that although previously the Ukraine and Belorussia were registered on budgetary lists as independent states with their own shares of the allocation by percentage, the money came from the common Soviet treasury: The Soviet Union covered 9.99 percent of the regular budget of the United Nations, the Ukraine covered 1.25 percent, and Belorussia covered 0.33 percent.

At the preceding session of the General Assembly, the Belorussian foreign minister told me that his republic has plans to obtain a different status in the United Nations, a status which would permit the amount of the allocation to be reduced to the level defined for underdeveloped states. Nothing of the kind has happened since then, however. And, properly speaking, nothing could happen inasmuch as the reevaluation of allocations is a very long process requiring the laborious work of numerous experts who will have to determine the true state of affairs in the economy and in finances and, on the basis of their findings, come to a conclusion as to whether that country falls into the category of underdeveloped countries. Only then will they drop its percentage.

The question of dues, in the words of Gennadiy Udovenko, is a complicated question and we intend to work on it.

But at the same time, it seems to me, it will also be necessary to work on the question of the dues of the Soviet Union itself or of that state formation which will replace the Soviet Union. And that question should undoubtedly be settled in favor of reducing our dues, which are becoming heavier every year. The USSR's contribution is almost twice as great as the United Kingdom's, larger than Germany's, and only two percent less than Japan's. It is nothing for them, but for us it is a serious burden which incidentally is multiplied by the fact that the USSR is a permanent member of the Security Council and thus, speaking for example about peace-keeping operations, must pay more than countries which do not belong to the Security Council on a permanent basis.

It is easy to conjecture that the upcoming session of the General Assembly will almost certainly be marked by attempts of a number of other republics, now almost former republics, to become members of the United Nations. If an application is submitted, at first it is supposed to be examined at a session of the special committee for new members, then at a session of the Security Council, and afterwards at a session of the General Assembly. Several weeks ago one could have been sure that if the Baltic republics were to apply, they would have been "cut off" at the very first stage or—in an extreme case—in the Security Council, where the USSR has the right to veto the application.

These days it is doubtful the USSR will try to block such an application.

## Belorussia

### Talks With Lithuania on Border 'Disagreements'

*LD0509180791 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] According to a BALTFAX report, Belorussia and Lithuania are holding closed talks. Clearly the subject under discussion is territorial disagreements between the republics.

A temporary agreement has been signed on measures to settle border issues, and on the working structures of the USSR KGB forces on the territory of Estonia.

An edict has been adopted on the laws which are applicable in the Ukraine. During the period until the adoption of new laws and a new constitution, the laws and constitution of the Ukrainian SSR remain in force. Border issues have been resolved, and a decree on raising the national blue and yellow flag of the Ukraine has been adopted.

Kebich, prime minister of Belorussia, has reported that the issue of Russia's territorial claims does not threaten Belorussia, if, as he says, Belorussia does not raise the issue of Smolensk.

### Labor Leader on Need for Sovereignty

*OW0509121891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1100 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via Kyodo]

[Text] A leader of the Belorussian worker movement and head of the strike committee of Orsha, Nikolay Razumov, has told journalists that "I am ready to be Belorussia's Lech Walesa." He explained that he would not decline to run for the republic's presidency if the workers nominated him.

Mr.Razumov expressed confidence that the Belorussian economy could within no more than 20 months be made as efficient as France's. The only condition would be real republican sovereignty.

According to him, the money needed to see through radical economic change could be obtained through imposing taxes on the use of gas and oil pipelines, as well as power transmission lines running from the USSR via Belorussia to Europe.

### Minsk City Soviet Votes To Change City Name

*LD0609050591 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Belorussian 1919 GMT 5 sep 91*

[Text] The Minsk City Soviet has decided to change the present name of the Belorussian capital, Minsk, to its historic name, Mensk. The Belorussian national white, red, and white flag has been officially installed above the building of the Minsk city soviet. The agenda of the tomorrow's sitting of the Minsk city soviet includes the issue of renaming Lenin Square to Independence Square and Lenin Avenue to Frantsisk Skaryna Avenue.

### Paper on Bessmertnykh Pre-Coup Vacation

*LD0509220591 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belorussian 0650 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] Many newspapers have published reports that on the eve of the coup USSR Foreign Minister Bessmertnykh was on vacation in Belorussia at Lake Naroch and it was from there that he left for the meeting that was organized by the putchists. Why doesn't our press say anything about that? Why did Bessmertnykh suddenly choose for his holiday Naroch and not a first class southern resort? Who invited him there? Maybe he had some connections with our leaders?—such are the questions addressed to ZVYAZDA by Yershov from Mogilev. He can get a partial answer to his questions on the basis of the information of Petr Kravchenko, foreign minister of our republic. The correspondence has been pointed in ZVYAZDA under the headline: Ministers Were Picking berries.

### Kebich To Visit South Korea 6 Sep

*OW0509183491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Belorussian Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich leaves for South Korea tomorrow. According to IF's [INTERFAX] sources, he will meet with officials in Seoul to explore the opportunities for the joint assembly of agricultural machines, electronic equipment and cars, and for exchanging R&D findings.

## Moldova

### Dniestr Political Leader Views Regional Situation

*LD0509215891 Moscow TASS in English 2119 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] Kishinev September 5 TASS—Grigori Marakutsa, chairman of the parliament of the so-called Dniester Soviet Socialist Republic (it was proclaimed on September 2, 1990, but later described as anticonstitutional—TASS) held a press conference for Soviet and foreign journalists on Thursday. According to MOLDOVA-PRESS, he told journalists that he was "dissatisfied with the behaviour of Moldavian leaders."

"According to an agreement reached the day before with Moldavian Prime Minister Valeriu Muravski (they met in the village of Varnitsa on September 4—TASS) Igor Smirnov was to be released on the same night or at least on Thursday morning. However, the Kishinev authorities did not keep their promise. The conflict is aggravating more and more, and the damage inflicted on the economies of the Dniestr region, Moldova and the country in general is growing accordingly," he said.

"In accordance with the terms we put forward, many people's deputies from Grigoriopol and Benderiy were to be released ten days after the removal of the blockade of railways. They will sign a paper promising not to leave, and the investigation will be held at their working places. We asked the Moldavian prosecutor's office to allow specialists from the Ukraine or Russia to take part in the investigation to make it more correct," Marakutsa said.

He told journalists at the press conference about the attempt made last night by a group of unidentified people to flood some premises of the Kuchurgan power plant. It supplies 80 per cent of its electricity output to the right bank of the Dniestr.

Marakutsa said that if the conflict continued to aggravate, the situation may get out of control. He stressed that all differences should be settled at the negotiating table and demanded that agreements between the conflicting parties should be observed.

"The Dniestr region is a sovereign and independent republic. We are not going to join any other country. At the same time, we are looking forward to close integration with Moldavia, the Ukraine and Russia, in the first place," Marakutsa said. He expressed confidence that the union of sovereign states will be created.

### Smirnov Still Detained; Railway Blockade Continues

*OW0509123291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1100 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Dniestr leader, Mr.Igor Smirnov, is still kept in a Kishinev prison in spite of yesterday's agreement about his release. IF's [INTERFAX] reporter learned this at the press center of the Supreme Soviet of the Dniestr Republic (unilaterally proclaimed one year ago and still unrecognized by the Moldovan authorities.) The railway station of Tiraspol is still under blockade which may be lifted only after Mr.Smirnov and all the other arrested Dniestr parliamentarians are set free, a press center spokesman said. He warned that the Moldova may "any moment now" become the target of an economic blockade from the Dniestr Republic, across whose territory gas and electricity supplies flow to Moldova.

## Ukraine

### Letter of Appeal Issued to Foreign Nations

*LD0609034391 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0500 GMT 4 Sep 91*

[Report from the press center of the Ukraine Ministry of Foreign Affairs by reporter Oleksandr Zednik on 3 September]

[Text] Viktor Ivanovych Nahaychuk, the leader of the press center, started a briefing with the information that Leonid Makarovych Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukraine Supreme Soviet, sent a letter with an appeal to leaders of states and governments of 23 countries of the world. Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Maksymovych Zlenko passed this letter to consul generals of foreign countries in Kiev. Part of this letter says:

[Begin Nahaychuk recording] On 24 August 1991 the extraordinary session of the Ukraine Supreme Soviet approved the proclamation of independence of the Ukraine, according to which an independent Ukrainian state - the Ukraine—is created. Only the Constitution and laws of the Ukraine are in force on its territory from now on. Therefore, the Ukraine fully takes it upon itself to secure directly its external political and external economic interests. [end recording]

### Crimean Soviet Adopts Sovereignty Declaration

*LD0609001591 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] The Crimean declaration of state sovereignty has been adopted by the extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of this autonomous republic. The fact that the Crimea is part of the Ukraine is confirmed in the declaration. At the same time, the supremacy, independence, unity, and indivisibility of the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic is proclaimed.

State power is based on the principles of its division into legislative, executive, and judicial branches. The territory of the Crimean Republic cannot be altered without its consent. Only the people of the Crimea have the exclusive right to own, use, and manage land, mineral resources, air space, water, and natural resources within the boundaries of the republic and its continental shelf. The document guarantees equal rights to all citizens living on its territory regardless of their nationality, political convictions, or creed.

An appeal to the Ukrainian parliament has been adopted in which the proclamation of the Ukraine as an independent and democratic state is called an act of tremendous historic responsibility for the fate of the people and the present and future of the Ukraine.

## Borders, Questions on Workers Confirmed

*LD0609055691 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 2100 GMT 4 Sep 91*

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Today the people's deputies adopted in its first reading the law which confirms the state borders of Ukraine, stipulates the validity of the USSR laws on Ukraine's territory, and determines the citizenship in Ukraine. The participants solved the question of social and legal protection of the Communist Party apparatus workers. It entrusted the secretariat of the Supreme Soviet and the Cabinet of Ministers to set up a commission on solving the questions concerning the dismissal and job placement of the workers of the apparatus of the Central Committee and other Communist Party bodies whose property was passed over to the jurisdiction of the parliament. The session took a decision to hoist the Ukrainian national blue and yellow banner over the building of the Ukraine parliament. [passage omitted]

The next sitting will take place on 10 September. Before that date, the deputies will work in commission.

## Cabinet Adopts Resolution on Power Supply

*LD0609055991 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] The Ukraine Cabinet of Ministers has passed a resolution on the rate of power supply to the national economy and the population of the republic in conditions of fuel shortages. It is noted that accumulation of fuel reserves for the next autumn and winter period of 1991 to 1992 at steam electric power stations of the Ministry of Power and Electrification of the Ukraine is being carried out in an extremely unsatisfactory way as a result of the miners' strike and a considerable drop in the extraction of coal after it. The remainder of coal, as it stood on 1 August of this year, is 3.6 million tonnes lower than last year. The aggregate power of atomic power stations situated on the territory of the republic, taking into account the routine maintenance of power units, will amount in the fourth quarter of this year and in the first quarter of next year, respectively, to only 8,700 and 10,100 megawatts. Therefore, the Ukraine Cabinet of Ministers has instructed the republic's Ministry of Power and Electrification to establish minimum possible electric load on electric power stations of the industries that consume types of fuel in short supply, in order to ensure stable provision of the national economy and the population of the republic with electricity during the autumn and winter period of 1991 to 1992. The export of electricity outside the republic will be reduced in the second half of this year by no less than 20 percent compared to the delivery plan. Measures have been taken to provide electric power stations of the republic with coal, petroleum products, and natural gas.

## Representative Appointed to RSFSR

*LD0509212991 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] The presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine has passed a resolution on setting up a plenipotentiary representation of the Ukraine in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR]. Volodymyr Petrovych Kryzhanivskyy, people's deputy of the Ukraine, has been appointed plenipotentiary representative of the Ukraine in the Russian Federation. It has been decided that the city of Moscow is to be the location of the plenipotentiary representation. The Cabinet of Ministers of the Ukraine has been instructed to hold negotiations in the near future with corresponding bodies of the RSFSR regarding concluding a treaty on the status of plenipotentiary representatives of the Ukraine and the RSFSR.

## Vashko Predicts 'Terror' Against Party Members

*PM0509142391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Sep 91 Single Edition p 2*

[N. Mironov report: "Going Underground"]

[Text] Dnepropetrovsk—Referring to a statement by Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Member K. Vashko, Ukrainian newspapers have informed their readers that an illegal Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum has been held.

The plenum set up a group of Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] and USSR people's deputies to defend in the parliaments the interests of party members and their families and the very existence of the party itself. The threat of arrest hangs above many members of the Ukrainian Communist Party leadership. I think, K. Vashko said, terror against Communist Party figures will begin soon. However, I am prepared and I will work in any conditions—even illegally. I confirm that the party is alive and will act. A time will come when it will loudly proclaim its existence. The plenum decided to suspend the activity of the commission for holding the next Ukrainian Communist Party Congress. Although there were proposals that it be held in secret, the people would see and hear us just the same, K. Vashko stressed.

### Tensions Continue To Build in Azerbaijan, Georgia

*OW0509222191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2102 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The opposition Republican Front 100,000 members of which had taken part in a rally on the central square supported their earlier demand that the president election set for September 8 be postponed. The Front favours the dissolution of the parliament, multiparty elections, and the suspension of the Azeri Communist Party and the nationalisation of its property.

Eighty enterprises supoported the call for political strike in Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan.

Georgian opposition issued an ultimatum to republican president Zviad Gamsakhurdia demanding that he refuse to sign any documents in Moscow, insist on the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet troops from the republic and introduce private ownership in the republic. Unless he complies, they threatened civil disobedience.

## Georgia

### Laws on Political Associations, Media Adopted

*PM0609090191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Sep 91 Single Edition p 1*

["Direct Line" report by correspondent L. Arshantsev: "New Laws"]

[Text] Tbilisi—Two long-awaited parliamentary laws on citizens' political associations and also on the press and other media have seen the light in Georgia. The first law, in particular, says that citizens of the Republic of Georgia with the right to vote can create political associations and participate in their activities. At the same time, officials of justice organs, the arbitration court, the prosecutor's office, and the Justice Ministry, members of the Constitutional Oversight Committee, internal troops—national guard—and cadre workers of state security and customs services cannot be members of these structures. These demands also apply to staff of the corresponding organs in the Abkhaz and Adzhar autonomous republics. The juridical status of political associations is guaranteed by registration with the Georgian Justice Ministry.

The latter law gives the media the green light. As well as guaranteeing them various freedoms, the parliamentary law enables them to publish in the languages of the peoples inhabiting Georgia. But there are certain restrictions. Article 4 of the document silences publications that call for the liquidation or replacement of the existing state system, disclose state secrets, inflame ethnic or religious strife, or conduct propaganda of war, violence or pornography. Henceforth, registration will not involve major bureaucratic formalities. When applying it is enough to name the publisher, the ethnic language the articles are written in, the address, the organ's aim or purpose, its readership, and its potential circulation.

### Tbilisi Rally Demands Soviet Troop Withdrawal

*OW0509141691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1300 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Yet another opposition-sponsored rally was held in Tbilisi on Wednesday. Participants advanced an ultimatum urging President Zviyad Gamsakhurdia not to sign any documents in Moscow, demand the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Georgia, release all political prisoners in the republic, and legalize private property at an early date. The protesters threatened to organize various acts of civil disobedience in the event of Mr. Gamsakhurdia's failure to meet their demands. Six opposition parties in Georgia, among them the Popular Front, the Christian Democratic Party and the Union of Free Democrats, called for an extraordinary session of the Georgian Supreme Soviet to set up a special commission to analyse the republican administration's position during the coup d'etat in the USSR, and investigate the September 2 tragic events in Tbilisi, when clashes between opposition activists and the police resulted in casualties on both sides.

### Opposition Issues Demands on Gamsakhurdia

*LD0509140991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1230 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] A further demonstration was held in Tbilisi on 4 September organized by opposition forces in Georgia. Its participants gave an ultimatum to Zviad Gamsakhurdia, the republic's president, demanding that he should, on no account, sign any documents whatsoever in Moscow, that he should raise the issue of the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet Army from Georgia, release all political prisoners in the republic, and also introduce private ownership in the very near future.

### President 'Isolated Politically'

*LD0509170891 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] The situation in Georgia remains tense. The republic's society is splitting rapidly and its president, Zviad Gamsakhurdia, is in fact isolated politically.

He's being attacked not only by the Peoples' Democratic Party and the other opposition forces pressing for his resignation. Criticism is even coming from members of the Roundtable, a political organization which usually backed all of the president's actions prior to the tragic events last Monday.

On that day 24 people were injured after riot police attacked a mass rally in Tbilisi. The demonstrators charged the republic's leadership with supporting organizers of last month's military putsch in Moscow and demanded their resignation.

### Lacks 'Right' To Stay in Office

*OW0509182791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The leader of the Georgian Popular Front Nodar Natadze has told IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent that President Zviad Gamsakhurdia "has no moral or juridical right" to stay in office after the September 2 events in Tbilisi.

On that day more than 20 people were injured in clashes between policemen and participants in a demonstration organized by the opposition National Democratic Party.

According to Mr. Natadze, President Gamsakhurdia's international prestige is "irreparably low", and it would be in Georgia's best interests "to distance itself from him as soon as possible."

### Tbilisi 'Calm', 'Normal Rhythm' Returns

*LD0509225691 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1400 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] Reports have just come in from Tbilisi that today it is calm again in Georgia's capital. The city is living in its normal rhythm. City transport is today moving about freely on Rustaveli prospekt, were an armed conflict took place between an OMON detachment and people attending a meeting.

A law on running Georgia's capital, which has been published in the republican newspapes, is now at the center of public attention.

Assemblies have been announced to be bodies of state power in 10 rayons in Tbilisi, while the mayorship and prefecture become a state body for running the city.

Our correspondent also reports that the republic's Cabiet of Ministers has adopted a decision on temporary measures to regulate transportation beyond the boundaries of Georgia of certain types of raw materials, foodstuffs, and industrial goods.

### Export Restrictions on Goods, Foodstuffs

*LD0509154391 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1400 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] The Georgian Cabinet of Ministers has adopted a decision on temporary, emergency measures to regulate the export of some types of the republic's raw materials, foodstuffs, and industrial goods. As of 5 September through 1 January 1992, it is prohibited to export milk and dairy products, live cattle and poultry, meat and meat products, wool, canned vegetables, potatoes, onions, pasta items, cement and bricks of all types, timber, petroleum products, and many, many other products.

### Parliament 26 Aug Extraordinary Session Assessed

*AU0509145791 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 27 Aug 91 p 1*

[Report on the "Extraordinary Session of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council" held on 26 August by SAKINFORM correspondents Paata Tsintsadze and Tengiz Grigalashvili]

[Text] The 26 August meeting of the first session of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council of the first convocation will go down in history as "extraordinary." Of course, two weeks and two days ago, when they were leaving for vacation, the Supreme Council members had no way of knowing that such striking changes in the political arena of the agonizing empire would occur within such a short period of time and that they would meet again in a virtually different epoch. The dangerous pass in the struggle between good and evil, arbitrary rule and justice, and dictatorship and democracy was surmounted in a country in which everything that constitutes the foundation for decent human life has been flouted over almost the life span of two generations. The efforts of those who in impotent frenzy attempted to block the peoples' road toward freedom and, with the help of bayonets, to drive them back to the ghastly world of lies and violence turned out to be futile. They had at their disposal everything that is commonly referred to as real force, but providence so commanded that they remained powerless and naked before the unarmed people who took to streets.... The people have won a victory. This particular victory of the democratic forces of Russia and the related events and phenomena became a subject of discussion for the deputies at the present meeting of the parliament.

Having opened the meeting, Supreme Council Chairman Akakiy Asatiani gave the floor to Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia. The head of state was noticeably excited, which was only natural after all the dramatic events of the last week that we have all lived through. The president gave a brief analysis of the situation that has taken shape after the collapse of the coup, made an assessment of the political atmosphere in the republic on the days of the crisis, and explained the steps made by the leadership of the republic at that critical time when the military machine of the empire quite unambiguously threatened the population of Georgia with punitive actions. Mr. Zviad Gamsakhurdia spoke highly of the actions taken by the democratic forces of Russia with its president Boris Yeltsin at the head, who did not allow the junta to accomplish its criminal designs.

The discussion of the first issue on the agenda concerning the political assessment of the events of 19-21

August 1991 was, in fact, a continuation of the president's speech. Tedo Paatashvili, chairman of the Supreme Council Permanent Commission for Foreign Relations spoke on this question. In the debate that followed, the deputies were unanimous in their evaluation of the events, although opinions did not always coincide when the position of the republican leadership was analyzed. In its resolution, the Supreme Council, having condemned any manifestation of dictatorship and totalitarianism, or the use of military force against a peaceful population, welcomed the impressive victory of the democratic forces of Russia, a victory that is expected to accelerate the dismantling, in the future, of the communist regime and the disintegration of the Soviet empire. The resolution also expressed sympathy with the families of the heroes who perished in the unequal struggle.

The Supreme Council discussed the following bills: "On Creating the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Georgia and, in this connection, on Introducing Changes and Additions into the Constitution of the Republic of Georgia" and "On the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Georgia." Dzhoni Khetsuriani, minister of justice of the Republic of Georgia, presented them to the deputies and answered numerous questions; after the debate, the Supreme Council adopted a resolution on the implementation of these laws.

The Supreme Council gave its consent to the adoption of the Republic of Georgia presidential decree on the creation of the department for defense to which the internal troops—the National Guard of the republic will, from now on, be subordinated. In the deputies' opinion, such a decision must promote the settlement of the problem that arose in connection with the recent change in the National Guard's status. Incidentally, the Supreme Council appointed a deputies group that will immediately go to the location of the National Guard subunit.

Then, Vissarion Gugushvili, recently nominated by the president as acting chairman of the Government of the Republic of Georgia, was introduced to the deputies as a candidate to the post of prime minister. Having answered numerous questions from the legislators, he also gave a brief account of his program. It follows from his program that the new premier is an adherent of etatism—state capitalism.

The deputies adopted the texts of congratulatory letters to the supreme councils of Estonia, Latvia, the Ukraine, and Russia in which readiness was expressed to start negotiations with the governments of these countries on the establishment of formal interstate relations.

Let us now proceed to the subject that is most painful and difficult for us. People say that God gives man his blood relatives and that man himself chooses his friends. That is probably why, of all the countless misfortunes, the Georgian people have always reacted to the apostasy of their compatriots in a particularly hard way. Alas, there have been quite a few apostates in our history, which is full of tragedies and heroism. This time, only a few days ago, when our long cherished freedom, which just started taking clear shape, was again placed on the treacherous scales of fate, the bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia stated on the first page of its newspaper, TSKHOVREBA, that it supported the criminal junta. Of course, this meant that the Communist Party collaborated with those forces that on 17 October unsheathed their bloody sword against freedom and democracy.

This misfortune was referred to in the agenda in a most conventional manner: "On the actions by the bureau of the Communist Party of Georgia, the republican committee of the Communist Party of Abkhazia, the former South Ossetian Communist Party oblast committee, and the self-styled executive committee of the abolished so-called South Ossetian Council of People's Deputies." A decisive condemnation of the position of the Georgian Communist Party, a position that put it in the same category with criminal organizations, prevailed in the speeches of the deputies—both anti-Communists and Communists.

The Supreme Council adopted a resolution banning the Communist Party of Georgia and the functioning of all the Communist associations; it also suspended the powers of the deputies from the Communist Party of Georgia. At the same time, it was pointed out in the resolution that persecution of or discrimination against citizens for their affiliation with the Communist Party is inadmissible.

With this, the extraordinary meeting of the session ended its work.

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## Two Killed in Fighting in Tskhinvali Town

*LD0509181791 Moscow TASS in English*
*1723 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] Tskhinvali September 5 TASS—Armed groups from Tbilisi have approached Tskhinvali, taking up positions on the city's outskirts, South Ossetian Information Committee Chief Koshiyev told TASS.

He said this action aims to distract people in Georgia from events in Tbilisi on September 2.

Fire has been reported in the city and other settlements. Two people killed and eight wounded in Tskhinvali.

In the early hours of September 4, four petrol tanker drivers were captured in the Georgian village of Achabeti en route to Vladikavkaz. In the Georgian village of Yeredvi, seven people were taken hostage and hospitalised on Thursday with traces of heavy beating.

A bus commuting between Tskhinvali and Abrebi was captured on Wednesday. There have been no reports about the whereabouts of its passengers, including 12 children that were on the bus.

## Tensions Reach 'New Heights' in South Ossetia

*LD0509123791 Moscow TASS in English 1133 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[By TASS correspondent Valery Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz September 5 TASS—Tensions reached new heights in Southern Ossetia after the Georgian prosecutor general signed a warrant to arrest several Ossetian leaders, accused of provoking ethnic tensions between Georgians and Ossetians.

Gun battles, involving grenade launchers and missiles, resumed in Southern Ossetia, according to North Ossetian Republic Prime Minister Hetagurov. There have been several incidents of hostage taking and transport seizures, he said.

The Georgian National Guard has been deployed near the regional capital Tskhinvali. The guardsmen control roads linking Tskhinvali with other cities.

The economic blockade of Southern Ossetia continues. Most industries are standing idle. Acute shortages of food and medicines have been reported.

Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia has extended a state of emergency in Tskhinvali and the Java region for another month.

A special delegation has been formed in Vladikavkaz, composed of local public representatives, to negotiate a settlement with the Georgian side.

### Further on Tension

*OW0509183691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the press center of the Regional Executive Committee of South Ossetia, units of the Georgian national guard opened hostilities on South Ossetian territory on Wednesday by attacking the village of Metekh in the Znaur district and sealing up all the roads leading into the autonomous republic.

In the meantime, Ossetian self-defense detachments stopped a column of buses with armed Georgians at the entrance to the administrative center Tskhinvali. In the clashes that followed, 11 Ossetians were wounded and taken to hospital.

Later in the day Georgian policemen near the village of Kekhvi stopped a truck carrying food from North Ossetia, and beat up its four drivers who then had to be hospitalized.

The USSR Interior Ministry's troops moved into South Ossetia earlier this year have observed neutrality.

The press center spokesman, who asked not to be identified, said that Colonel A. Bobrovnik, commander of the Soviet interior troops in Tskhinvali, had had a telephone conversation with the Georgian President Z. Gamsakhurdia on Wednesday. When Mr. Bobrovnik urged Mr. Gamsakhurdia to open talks with the head of the South Ossetian Executive Committee V. Gassiyev, the Georgian leader resolutely dismissed the idea.

## Green Party Issues Appeal on Conference

*LD0609033291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1758 GMT 4 Sep 91*

[Text] Tbilisi, 4 Sep (TASS)—To resolve the critical situation in Georgia, the Greens of the republic have proposed that all parties and public and political movements sit down and talk. In the opinion of the Greens, the convocation of such a conference will help to prevent the deepening of the confrontation in society and prevent a dangerous development of events.

## Merab Kostava Society Condemns Recent Bloodshed

*AU0509152391 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Russian 1422 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Statement by the All-Georgian Merab Kostava Society; place and date not given]

[Text] On 2 September 1991, in Tbilisi, during the meeting that was held on Rustaveli Square, a confrontation took place between the participants in the meeting and representatives of the law enforcement organs. As a result of this confrontation, blood was shed. Some people were wounded and injured. The All-Georgian Merab Kostava Society condemns the bloodshed among brothers, no matter what causes might lead to it, and points out that such irresponsible actions cast aspersions upon the dignity of the Georgian people who are fighting for state independence and the establishment of democratic principles in the country.

## Abkhazians Protest Troop Training

*AU0609150691 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Russian 1345 GMT 6 Sep 91*

[Address to Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia and to Vladislav Ardzinba, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Abkhazian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, by the collective and residents of a training and experimental farm; place and date not given]

[Text] The collective and residents of the (?Ishera) training and experimental farm of the Georgian Subtropical Economy Institute appeal to you in connection with the fact that the territory of the farm has become a military testing area for the units of special troops brought to the territory of Abkhazia and stationed in the rest home [name indistinct] in the immediate vicinity of the farm. The troops conduct battle training and various maneuvers involving shooting from weapons. All of this interferes with the normal course of agricultural work and inspires fear among the civilian population and children. Moreover, the servicemen react in a provocative manner to remarks by women and old people.

In view of the approaching season of citrus picking and the need to guard the produce round-the-clock, conflicts between the workers guarding the plantations and the servicemen cannot be ruled out. Unfortunately, there is bitter experience of such confrontations on the territory of Georgia and, in particular, in Abkhazia. The collective and the citizens of the (?Ishera) training and experimental farm are asking you to prohibit the servicemen from conducting any combat training on the territory of the farm. We are joining the request of the Abkhazian population to withdraw troops from the territory of the autonomous republic and from all of Georgia.

This address was signed by more than 80 employees, workers, and residents of the (?Ishera) training farm.

## Armenia

### Ter-Petrosyan Views Nagorno-Karabakh Seccesion

*LD0609092191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1400 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[By TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 5 Sep (TASS)—Armenian parliament chairman Levon Tar-Petrosyan thinks that the proclamation of the Nagorno-Karabakh republic has political, but not legal significance. In an interview with the Yerevan newspaper "AZG" the Armenian leader stressed that among the country's overall problems "the Nagorno- Karabakh issue is becoming topical, taking into account the tendency toward reaching a provisional solution both for the people of Karabakh and Azerbaijan, and for Armenia". In this connection, Levon Ter-Petrosyan expressed the conviction that constitutional order will be re-established in Nagorno-Karabakh.

### Legislature Official Views NKAO Declaration

*NC0509180291 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] Eduard Yegoryan, acting chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet's Standing Commission for the Establishment of Independent Statehood and National Policy Affairs, has, in a statement to HAYASTANI HANRAPETUTYUN, evaluated the 2 September declaration by Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] proclaiming the oblast a republic.

Yegoryan said: I regard Nagorno-Karabakh's declaration proclaiming itself a republic as a serious political move. To my mind there are two ways to realize its objective: First, to take advantage of the present political situation to declare Nagorno-Karabakh a fully independent republic and secede from the structure of Azerbaijan, and second, to create separate organs of power, a constitution and laws, but to remain within the structure of Azerbaijan.

### Major Replies to Workers on Nagorno-Karabakh

*NC0509192991 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] The general assembly of the workers collective at Kirovakan's "Tekhnazart" machine building factory has sent cables to the parliaments of a number of countries requesting their support for the just demands of the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh.

British Prime Minister John Major, through (?Camila Penning), a staffer in charge of Soviet affairs, has replied to the machine builders' cable. The reply confirms and assures that at the conference of experts on national minorities being organized in Geneva, the British side will use all available opportunities to draw the participants' attention to events in Nagorno-Karabakh. The reply also says that the British Government has already conveyed to the Soviet authorities its deep conviction that, under the prevailing complex and tense situation in Transcaucasia, the center must uphold law and order, maintain fairness and impartiality, and must respect the rights of the national minorities.

### Supreme Soviet Session To Open 9 Sep

*OW0509210391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1800 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The third session of the Supreme Soviet of Armenia opens in Yerevan next Monday.

The Armenian news agency SNARK reports the session will discuss the political situation in the USSR and the republic. Supreme Soviet Chairman Levon Ter-Petrosyan is expected to make a speech. Besides, parliamentarians will see whether Armenia should follow into the footsteps of other republics and proclaim independence, or act in compliance with the Constitution and continue preparing for the republic-wide referendum on secession from the Soviet Union, due to be held 0n September 21.

### Commission Discusses Winter Fuel Supplies

*NC0609075891 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] A meeting of the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet Economic Independence and Development Commission heard reports on the steps being taken to prepare the republic's stocks of fuel and energy for the winter. Most of the deputies taking part in the meeting pointed out that these steps, especially those concerning the storage of fuel and energy, are not comprehensive and continue to be rooted in old approaches which are not based on modern economic and scientific methods.

It was decided that the government and the commission should make more frequent joint studies of the energy situation and that this problem should be addressed at an expanded meeting. The commission then approved a decision to convene a republicwide economic conference.

### Candidate Favors '1 Plus 1' Formula

*OW0509191691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Paruir Airikyan, the leader of the "National Self-Determination" Association and a candidate for Armenian presidency, has described the Armenian leadership's position during the coup as "traitorous". In his opinion, during the coup attempt, "we should have defended the interests not of Russia or Yeltsin, but of Armenia and its independence."

"If the coup were to succeed, we would have lost all of our previous small achievements", Mr. Airikyan pointed out.

According to the "SNARK" news agency, Mr. Airikyan told a press conference in Erevan September 5 that he considers the formula "1 Plus 1" more acceptable than "10 Plus 1". Under the "1 Plus 1" formula, republics would maintain direct bilateral contacts. Such relationship "by no means should limit republics' ties with other countries", he noted.

Mr. Airikyan called the proclamation of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic another step toward the settlement of the Karabakh crisis.

## Azerbaijan

### President Survives Assassination Attempt

*LD0509183191 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] According to information received from the People's Front of Azerbaijan, an attempt has been made on the life of President Mutalibov, and the authorities are trying to attribute it to People's Front activists.

### Assassination Attempt Denied

*LD0609110891 Moscow TASS in English 1036 GMT 6 Sep 91*

[By AZERINFORM-TASS correspondent Natan Barskiy]

[Text] Baku September 6 TASS—Rumours about an assassination attempt against President Ayaz Mutalibov of Azerbaijan are not true, Republican Interior Minister Magomed Asadov said in a statement broadcast on republican television.

### Republican Defense Ministry Formed

*LD0609100491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0917 GMT 6 Sep 91*

[Text] Baku, 6 Sep (TASS)—A Ministry of Defense of Azerbaijan has been formed in this Transcaucasian republic by a decree of its president, Ayaz Mutalibov. The ministry has been set up in accordance with a decision of the Azerbaijan parliament on the formation of national self-defense forces, reported Natan Barskiy, an AZERINFORM correspondent.

Valeg Barshatly, a 64-year-old lieutenant-general, has been appointed minister of defense. He was formerly first deputy commander of the army of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany and has recently been head of the military educational institution in Baku.

### Mutalibov Names Defense Minister

*NC0609082791 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Decree issued by Azerbaijan President Ayaz Mutalibov in Baku on 1 September]

[Text] In accordance with the Azerbaijan Republic Supreme Soviet's decision on the establishment of the republic's national defense forces, it has been deemed appropriate to create a Ministry of Defense for the republic and to appoint Behzadly Vali Eyyboglu as the republic's defense minister. This decree will be submitted to the Azerbaijan Republic Supreme Soviet.

[Signed] Ayaz Mutalibov, president of the Azerbaijan Republic

[Dated) Baku City, 1 September

### Nakhichevan Suspends Presidential Elections

*NC0609073991 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] The deputies attending the extraordinary meeting of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic Supreme Soviet have discussed the question of the presidential elections. After a heated debate, the deputies decided to suspend these elections throughout the autonomous republic. They also adopted a decision on their position on the activities of the Azerbaijan Communist Party and its departments.

The following items were also on the agenda for today's meeting:

1. The establishment of a deputies committee to review the approach taken by the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic's party and soviet organs to the decisions announced by the state of emergency committee.

2. The attempts to interfere in the work of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic Supreme Soviet.

The meeting adopted decisions on these and other matters. Organizational questions were also discussed. Kalemtarly and Mamedov were elected deputy chairmen of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic Supreme Soviet at the suggestion of the chairman. The session is continuing.

### Further Report

*LD0509224891 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2005 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Excerpts] POSTFAKTUM reports that the Nakhichevan parliament has adopted a resolution on halting the elections for a president of Azerbaijan on the territory of this republic. This has been reported by its chairman, Geydar Aliyev. [video shows Aliyev addressing a meeting]

[Correspondent V.Nakhysh, indentified by caption] As in the good old days, at the rostrum is Geydar Aliyevich Aliyev. He has now been elected chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic. Having left the ranks of the party of which he has been a member since 1943, now Aliyev stand in the limelight to criticize the CPSU.

[Aliyev] The Communist Party should be removed. The CPSU has already been destroyed, so the Communist Party of Azerbaijan should give up power, but it is not leaving. In Nakhichevan, the Supreme Soviet has adopted a decision and has closed the party oblast committee and the rayon party committees, and has adopted a resolution suspending the activities of party organizations on the territory of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic. [passage omitted: footage of an interview with aliyev from a year ago in which he expresses lifelong commitment to the communist Party]

### Protest Against Mutalibov

*OW0509193591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Supreme Medjlis (parliament) of Nakhichevan, an autonomous republic within Azerbaijan, has ruled that no Azerbaijani presidential elections will be held on the republic's territory on September 8.

It suspended the elections for a number of reasons, among them because the presidency is reserved for no one but the current Azerbaijani leader Ayaz Mutalibov, a man who "adopted a clearly reactionary position during the recent coup in the USSR and openly sided with the State of Emerency Committee," and also because the authorities are "exerting pressure on the democratic opposition."

The Medjlis resolution was signed by its new Chairman Geydar Aliyev, once the leader of the Azerbaijani communist party and an ex-member of the CPSU CC [Central Committee] Politburo.

The Nakhichevani Medjlis protested against further communist activities in Azerbaijan and confirmed its earlier decision to scrap the regional party committee and nationalize its property.

### Election of Supreme Soviet Chairman Reported

*NC0609065891 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 4 Sep 91*

[Text] The Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic Supreme Soviet held an extraordinary meeting at the request of the democratic deputies bloc to discuss organizational matters and the presidential elections in the Azerbaijan Republic.

More than half the deputies participating in the session, nearly 70 in all, expressed support for the proposal that Geydar Aliyev be named chairman of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic Supreme Soviet. Accordingly, Aliyev was elected chairman of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic Supreme Soviet. The session is continuing.

### Situation 'Calm' Before 8 Sep Elections

*LD0509200491 Moscow TASS in English 1940 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[By AZERINFORM correspondent Natan Barskiy]

[Text] Baku September 5 TASS—The first ever direct presidential elections will be held in Azerbaijan next Sunday. Numerous rallies are held in Baku on the eve of the elections. Speakers at the rallies support the republican leaders, the firm stand of President Ayaz Mutalibov on the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh and the consolidation of the nation in the current complicated situation.

At the same time, some people urge to postpone the elections, dissolve the Supreme Soviet (parliament) and hold new parliamentary elections on a multi-party basis.

Speakers at the meeting, held at the Azadlyg Square on Wednesday on the initiative of the Popular Front of Azerbaijan, described the strike declared at the call of the Popular Front leadership. They said that eighty labour collectives did not work for two days.

However, AZERINFORM today received information of the republican statistical committee which says that no reports on strikes at the enterprises on September 3 and 4 had come to the committee by 2000, Wednesday. Representatives of the statistical committee visited several enterprises, but did not see any people leave their places of work as a result of strikes. Telephone conversations with senior executives from the leading enterprises confirmed that they are working normally.

On the whole, in spite of the rallies, the situation in the republican capital is calm, no incidents have been registered, municipal transport, industrial enterprises, medical and cultural institutions are functioning normally.

### Popular Front Rally Threatens Political Strike

*LD0509135691 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1230 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] A many-thousand-strong rally by supporters of the Popular Front of Azerbaijan and also other democratic forces of the republic has been held on Baku's main square, Freedom Square. According to an INTERFAX correspondent, 100,000 people took part in the rally. It was declared during the rally that unless the leadership dissolves the Supreme Soviet, holds multiparty parliamentary elections, suspends the activity of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, and nationalizes the latter's property, a political strike will be held. Incidentally, already about 80 enterprises have backed this demand.

### Opposition Says 80 Enterprises in Baku on Strike

*OW0509143791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1300 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] IF's [INTERFAX] Baku correspondent reports that an estimated 100,000 Popular Front followers and other pro-democracy activists attended a rally in the city's Liberty Square on Wednesday to press the demands advanced by Azerbaijan's democratic opposition: to postpone the presidential elections scheduled in the republic for September 8, dissolve the Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet and hold multi- party elections, suspend the republic's communist party and nationalize its property.

Participants in the rally were told that the opposition call for a political strike had been supported in Baku by nearly 80 industrial plants.

Meanwhile, the head of the Baku City Council, Mr.Sanan Alizade has told the official news agency AZERINFORM that "all of the city's enterprises are working as usual." Similar pro-democracy rallies are said to have been held in Sumgayit, Yandj, and Nakhichevan.

### 'No Signs' of Strike Reported

*NC0609062891 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 4 Sep 91*

[Statement issued by the Azerbaijan Republic State Statistics Committee; place and date not given]

[Text] In response to the call for a nationwide general strike beginning 3 September made at the rally held by the Azerbaijan Popular Front, on 2 September the Azerbaijan State Statistics Committee instructed its administrations in all cities and rayons to compile daily reports on the progress of this strike and the number of workers reporting for duty. No reports of any indications of a strike were received from economic establishments by 2000 on 4 September. Officials at city and rayon statistics committees visited several establishments, but saw no signs that work was being disrupted or that workers were failing to report.

Leading officials of the republic's main unions and establishments reported when contacted by telephone that the republic's economic activity is proceeding normally.

### Republics Urged To Recognize Independence

*OW0509183091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Azerbaijani newspapers have published a statement whereby the republic's Supreme Soviet recognizes the independence of Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Moldova, Georgia, the Ukraine, and Belorussia.

The statement calls on these republics to recognize Azerbaijan as an independent state and establish comprehensive relations with it.

### Turkish Statement on Independence

*LD0509194391 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 0202 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] According to a report by the Azerbaijan mission in Moscow, the Turkish Foreign Ministry (?spokesman) issued a statement in connection with the publication of the declaration of the state independence of Azerbaijan by the republican parliament on 30 August. The statement says: Turkey has met with a feeling of satisfaction and joy the declaration of independence by the fraternal people of Azerbaijan with whom we have general historical and cultural ties. We believe that this decision on the independence of the fraternal people of Azerbaijan will be implemented in accordance with the wishes and will of the people in the framework of the [word indistinct] processes initiated by our neighbor to the north toward important talks between the two sides.

### People's Front Opposes 'Witch-Hunt'

*PM0609085991 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Sep 91 Single Edition p 1*

["Direct Line" report by unidentified RIA correspondent: "Against 'Witch-hunt'"]

[Text] The People's Front of Azerbaijan [PFA] has come out against attacks on Communists, against a 'witch-hunt'," the TURAN agency reports. "People are not born Communists, they become Communists. Even some members of the PFA were Communists," a statement by the front says. At the same time, the front confirmed that its course of liquidating the Communist Party remained unchanged.

## Narorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast

### Paper Reports Renewed Armenian Attacks

*NC0509115591 Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 2 Sep 91 p 4*

[Rehber Besiroglu report: "A State of Unreast in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast"]

[Excerpt] Baku—The situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] is tense once again following increased Armenian attacks in the wake of Azerbaijan's declaration of independence. Many people were killed during the latest Armenian attack, a strike against Khodzhaly, a town located in the NKAO. Rockets and automatic weapons were used in the attack. An Azerbaijani source said that 19 people have been killed and 35 more have been wounded. Azerbaijani sources in the area claim that Soviet Army units did nothing to stop the Armenian militia assault.

Reports also indicate that Geranboy, a town located close to the Armenian border, was attacked by armed groups. No causalities were reported in this attack, however. The situation in the Lachinskiy, Zangelanskiy, Kubatlinskiy, and Sederek Rayons in Azerbaijan is also reportedly very tense and new attacks are expected in these areas. The Sederek Rayon is located on Turkey's border. [passage omitted]

### Gunfire Reported in Village

*LD0509204791 Moscow TASS in English 1206 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[By TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Stepanakert September 5 TASS—The village of Kiridzhan on the outskirts of Stepanakert, can unfortunately, be called an indication of tensions in Nagorno-Karabakh.

Armenians and Azerbaijanis live here, divided by an ethnic conflict and an Interior Ministry post. After a relative lull, gunfire can again be heard here at nights. Shooting was reported in the village last night as well.

No one was hurt, according to military authorities.

### Hostages Released in Nagorno-Karabakh

*OW0509121791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1100 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent in Stepanakert reports that eleven hostages—5 Armenians and 6 Azerbaijanis—were released in Nagorno-Karabakh on Wednesday as a result of a series of measures taken by the local police department and the commandant of the state-of-emergency district.

## Kazakhstan

### UK Prime Minister Invites Nazarbayev To Visit

*LD0609040291 Alma-Ata Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 0000 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] UK Prime Minister John Major, who was in Moscow for a working visit, met Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev. During the meeting, Major stressed that his stopover in Moscow on the way to Beijing was because of his wish to understand the situation in the country, to assess it, and to meet personally such political leaders as Nazarbayev, whose statements and speeches are followed very attentively in Great Britian.

Nazarbayev expressed his satisfaction with Margret Thatcher's recent visit to Alma-Ata. He briefed Major about the contents of their talk. Appraising the situation in the country, the Kazakh president stated that the most important issue now is signing the new Union Treaty. We are going to create comprehensive structural ties among the republics, with the aim of preserving common economic relations, he said. He added that the strong dependence of the republics on each other gives objective conditions for economic union, where all 15 republics can enter.

Major confirmed an invitation to the president of Kazakhstan to visit Great Britian at the end of October 1991.

## Kyrgyzstan

### Akayev Warns Against 'Tyranny' Against Communists

*LD0509110191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0858 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[From the "Television News Service" Program]

[Text] Kyrgyzstan President Akayev has addressed the people of the republic with a statement. It says that in connection with the suspension of the activity of the republican Communist Party, all necessary measures will be taken to prevent tyranny in respect of CPSU members. The overwhelming majority of communists cannot bear responsibility for the actions and the policy of the leadership of the CPSU and the Kyrgyzstan Communist Party.

## Tajikistan

### Shaposhnikov Meets With Deputies in Moscow

*LD0509190891 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1600 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] A delegation from the Tajikistan parliament on 3 September met with Marshal of USSR Defense Minister Aviation Shaposhnikov at the USSR Defense Ministry. As it is known, people's deputies from Tajikistan are taking part in the extraordinary session of the Congress of the USSR People's Deputies.

Nasrulla Dostov, a republican people's deputy, reported the following by telephone: Following the second day of the work of the congress, we met with the USSR minister of defense. Taking part in the meeting were Kendzhayev, Shakirov, Sharifov, Alimov, and [name indisitnct]. Ashurov, the republican people's deputy, headed the delegation.

In the course of the talks, Ashurov spoke at length about the services of Tajik youths conscripted into the USSR Armed Forces. He reported incidents of murder of youths conscripted from Tajikistan, many incidents of disablement in the ranks of the army, existence of inhumane practices in military units and the Navy, as well as (?humiliation of) the soldiers. As a result, youths are forced to leave their location of service.

The defense minister said that these incidents will be investigated and the culprits will be punished. He once again promised to take additional measures to protect military servicemen so that such incidents do not happen again, not only to youths from Tajikistan but also to conscripts from other republics. The minister also said that he is aware of problems in the Army and Navy and will take all measures to rectify the situation. He briefed the people's deputies on the draft military reforms.

At the end of the meeting, Shaposhnikov expressed the hope that they not cut contacts and will work together in the future.

## Uzbekistan

### Press Publishes Law on Independence

*OW0509115891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1100 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Uzbekistani press has published the law on the fundamentals of state independence which the republic's parliament passed on August 31. Under it, the state border and territory of Uzbekistan are proclaimed integral and inviolable. The Constitution and other laws of Uzbekistan will have precedence over all the rest throughout the republic. The new law entitles Uzbekistan to have a defense ministry of its own, form a national guard, and control the formation and operation of Soviet armed forces on its territory. The land with its natural and other resources, as well as the state enterprises, including those subordinated to ministries in Moscow, are proclaimed Uzbekistan's property. The republic will take under control the extraction, processing and storage of gold and other precious metals on its territory, form its own gold reserve, and have a share in the gold, diamond and hard-currency reserves of the Soviet Union. The new law says Uzbekistan recognizes the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the republic of Karakalpakskaya which is entitled to freely secede from Uzbekistan.

### Further on Law

*LD0509183691 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1400 GMT 5 Aug 91*

[Text] Today the law on the principles of Uzbekistan's state sovereignty has been published. From today it possesses complete state power, independently determines its national, state, administrative, and territorial system, and the bodies of authority and administration.

In acccordance with the law, the republic has the right to set up a ministry for defense, to form a national guard, and an alternative service. Enterprises of union subordination are to be transferred to its jurisdiction. Uzbekistan has the right to introduce its own national currency and to establish diplomatic, consular, and trade ties with foreign states.

## Defense Ministry, National Guard Formed

*LD0509151691 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1300 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] In Uzbekistan a ministry for defense affairs and a National Guard are being set up. The Ministry of Internal Affairs and KGB bodies and internal troops on the republic's territory have been brought under the jurisdiction of the republic. This is stated in a statement published today on the state independence of the Republic of Uzbekistan.

## Land, Minerals Declared Republic's Property

*OW0509222091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2102 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Uzbekistan's publication of a law setting down the principles for its independence included an announcement that the land, its mineral resources and all state enterprises in the republic, including those that were previously under central authority, are now the property of the republic.

Furthermore, the republic will itself carry out and regulate the production, processing and storing of gold and other precious metals on its territory. The law also authorizes the republic to build its own gold reseve.

## New Democratic Political Party Registered

*LD0609072791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1335 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[By TASS correspondent Irina Grebenyuk]

[Text] Tashkent, 5 Sept (TASS)—The democratic party "Erk" ["Freedom"] [TASS parentheses] was registered today at Uzbekistan's Ministry of Justice. Its program envisages "the struggle for human rights, the national revival of the republic and the complete independence of Uzbekistan." The new party also opposes ethnic discord and favors the consolidation of all peoples residing in the republic.

Representatives of any nationality who are not members of the CPSU may become members of "Erk". The party has been joined by scientists, cultural figures, workers and students.

Many members of the party are deputies of local and town soviets. "Erk" membership currently numbers about 5,000. Mukhammad Solikh, 42, a poet and Secretary of Uzbekistan's Union of Writers, has been elected party chairman.

### Party Challenges Communists

*OW0509184091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Thursday the Uzbek Justice Ministry registered the "Erk" ("Freedom") Democratic Party opposing the Uzbek Communist Party.

In an interview with IF [INTERFAX] Mukhammad Salikh, the "Erk" party leader, a member of the Uzbek parliament and secretary of the Uzbek Writers' Union, said that "by no means the "Erk" 's registration should be considered a compromise with the republic's Communist leadership."

Mr. Salikh re-affirmed his party's intention to continue its opposition to the Uzbek Communist Party, as well as its struggle for full democratization of Uzbek society.

"I hope that the recognition of the "Erk" was not a mere propagandistic step of the Uzbek leadership which has given its consent to the registration, but also an expression of its aspiration for dialogue with the opposition and for cooperation with other democratic organizations of the republic", Mr Salikh stressed.

## Partial Criminal Amnesty Declared

*LD0509193591 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] An amnesty has been declared in Uzbekistan, one of the republics which proclaimed itself independent from the USSR. It affects such categories convicted on criminal charges as war veterans, elderly people, the disabled, women with children under 16, and also juvenile delinquents themselves, serving a prison term of up to 3 years. The amnesty does not affect persons who have committed grave state crimes and premeditated murder, and also persons convicted for stirring up racial and ethnic discord.